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HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION

OF IRELAND.

BY THOMAS WYSE, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

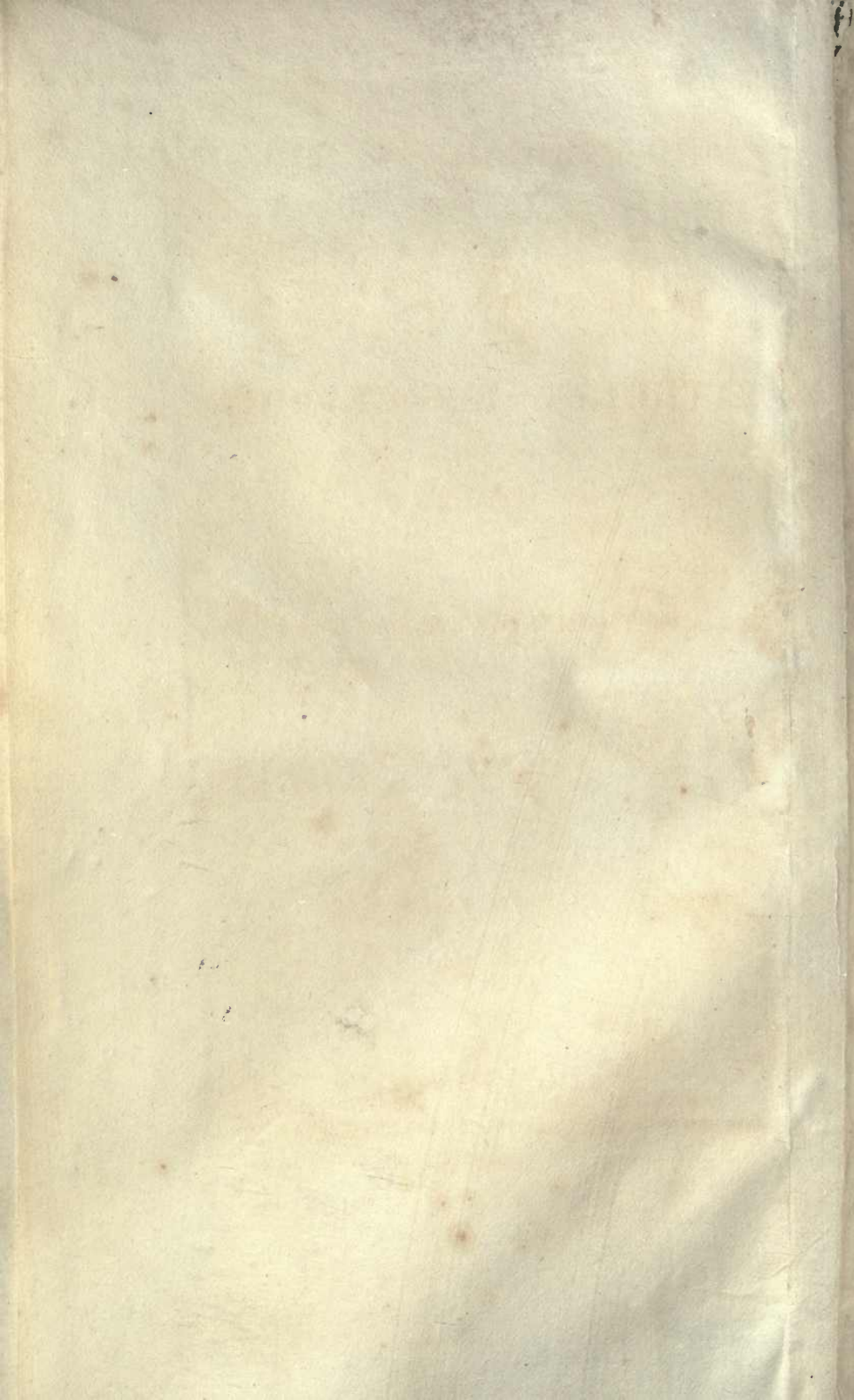
VOL. II.

LONDON:

JOHN BARNES, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1839.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF
THE LATE
CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION
OF IRELAND.

By THOMAS WYSE, Esq. JUN.

"Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri."

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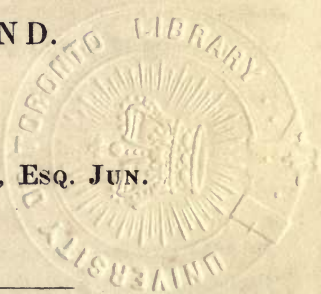
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HISTORICAL SKETCH

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION



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LONDON:

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1820

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HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE LATE

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION, &c.

CHAP. I.

Protestant sympathy—Society for the Improvement of Ireland—Coalition of the liberal Protestants—Protestant Declaration—Dinner of the friends of civil and religious liberty to Lord Morpeth—Recall of the Marquess of Anglesey—Meeting at the Rotunda—Petition to parliament—Address to the King—The King's speech—The dissolution of the Association.

WHILST the two contending parties were now closing more nearly upon each other, and the awful crisis which would soon have been beyond all human control seemed every day more visibly approaching, a third party appeared in the country, to whose consolidation (in concurrence with the preceding circumstances) the Catholics were mainly indebted for the success which at last terminated their eventful struggle. But it was by a series of very delicate measures, and gradual arrangements,

that this consolidation was brought about. The liberal Protestant for a long period was affected by the same habitual indifference to existing evils, which had formerly characterised the Catholic himself. The immediate pressure of danger did more than any sense of justice and fellow-feeling they might entertain for the calamities of their countrymen. But the time was fast approaching when Catholic or Protestant were no longer to be left a choice.

The liberal Protestant stood in a very peculiar position. Whilst the anti-Catholic party had remained passive, he testified for the struggles of his Catholic countrymen but a feeble and modified interest. The relics of old prejudices; the little inclination actively to interfere in concerns which did not immediately affect himself; the disfavour which usually accompanies voluntary displays of devotion to the popular cause, were very powerful drawbacks upon his zeal and exertions. But there were other motives, arising out of existing circumstances, which had a far more direct and repulsive effect upon his sympathies. The Catholic Association generally, but especially the individuals who were supposed to have the greatest weight and influence in its proceedings, were accused of a very injudicious and inexcusable

disregard, both in deed and language, to the feelings and opinions of others. It is quite true, that the provocation to such intemperance was great and frequent; that the excess has been far surpassed, especially in later times, by the excesses of their adversaries; and that much and reasonable apology may be made for such violations of public propriety, by the consideration of the usual habits of all popular assemblies. But these redeeming circumstances did not in the slightest degree palliate or neutralise the impressions which they conveyed to all classes of the Protestant community. The Catholic, separated by the anti-social influence of the penal laws from the Protestant, did not feel in its full force the result of these errors. He habitually and exclusively associated with men who were not only aggrieved in precisely the same manner with himself, but who, generally speaking, with very few exceptions, sought for relief from their grievances precisely by the same means. What other men would have regarded as violence, the Catholic considered as a natural and manly resistance to admitted wrong: he applauded the overflowings of more deep sources of indignation, which he felt equally in his own bosom: he looked with admiration on the man who took the fiercest tone, who barbed

his shafts with the keenest poison, who winged them most directly and fearlessly to the heart of his antagonist. But the liberal Protestant stood in a very different position. His ordinary associates for the most part were opposed to him in opinion; he had to contend with their arguments, and what to most men is far more difficult, with their scoffs: instead of receiving in the evening any portion of that meed of applause, which usually repaid the exertions of the Catholic, and consoled him for the abuse of his enemies, he had to enter into an apology of his conduct, and to take up the defence of men, and of proceedings, who, however they might merit every approbation in mass, were extremely objectionable in details. The difficulties of this disheartening warfare were still farther increased by the Catholics themselves. Many of the most earnest supporters of their cause were often, with very little inquiry, heedlessly included in the sweeping denunciations, with which the good and the bad, the friend and the enemy, were sure to be visited in some way or other, during the course of the annual debates of the Association. A friend, who perhaps had been contending with his whole force the night before in maintaining the claims and deserts of the body, not unfrequently found himself rewarded for his chi-

valry the next day in the Association, by some sneer at his lukewarmness, or some coarse and unmerited invective against his principles, the injustice of which he had no means of repelling, but by entering into direct and personal explanation, and perhaps collision, with parties who, except from their connexion with such a cause, had little or no title to his respect. Such things are with difficulty to be separated from assemblies in a state of perpetual excitement like the Catholic Association: in Ireland, they are particularly so; and every Irishman, who could reason largely on the subject, naturally extended to them for these reasons no small share of his sufferance and indulgence. But the party of which we are speaking, seldom were so general and philosophic in their views: they considered only the personal wound, and the momentary result. Disgusted and indifferent, and at last fatigued with fighting in a cause in which they had so few to sympathise with, and no allies, they retired gradually from all intermixture with these proceedings,* and

* There was an obvious falling off of Protestant sympathy and interest from 1825 to the middle of 1828. There had been no attempt to repeat the meetings of 1819, or the petitions of grand juries, counties, &c. &c. The attendance also on Catholic dinners was much less frequent, numerous,

finally surrendered the Catholics to themselves.

Another circumstance, which very much added to this reserve, was the inconsistency with which Protestant support was treated by the Catholics themselves. At one time they rejected it with affected contempt; at another, they talked of it as the only means by which emancipation could be accomplished; as if a nation of six millions of men, cordially and constantly united, had not in their *own* hands (reason the matter as they might) the *sure* and simple means of their final liberation. If by chance a small gentleman of the favoured caste, calculating often his own personal interests much more closely than the public good, happened to drop in amongst their thousands, frequently headed by the representatives of the oldest families in the land, they blazoned forth, in the most fulsome terms, "the honour which had been done them; the kindness in thinking of them; the condescension in honouring them with his presence;" and poured out, with a disgraceful profusion, votes of thanks to "the distinguished

and respectable. Compare the first Provincial meeting of Munster with the last. Even the Protestant petition of 1827 had but a few hundred signatures. In the summer of 1828, Protestant feeling had reached its lowest ebb.

and liberal Protestant guest," who sate down on the same bench, or deigned to eat of the same meats with a Papist. It was absurd for Catholics to speak after this, of their spirit of freedom, and their indignation at the unjust inequality which the laws had established between the two religions; their own resolutions fully seconded the efforts of the laws :—no more glaring instance could be offered of the deep debasement which had been entailed upon every thing Catholic by the penal Code. Every man, who felt within himself the sentiment of what freedom really was, though not actually in possession or enjoyment of the gift, must have blushed at this deep, national humiliation; and many no doubt there were who did so blush; but the expediency system was constantly urged, and it was thought that conciliation could only be purchased at the vile price of this unnatural servility. A result the very opposite to what the Catholics had expected, usually took place. If the Protestant had any principle of highmindedness within him, he must have considered such unmeasured contributions to his vanity as insincere and profligate. The less wise, or the less charitable, attributed it, not to the obvious influences of a long state of moral and political oppression, but to the religion, which the oppressed happened to

profess. They often retained in the midst of their proffers of assistance, sentiments hostile to the creed, and contemptuous to its professors. Habituated from an early period to a consciousness of rule—a consciousness encouraged by every thing with which he was surrounded,—it was next to impossible that he should not accept this admission of superiority, conferred with such anxiety by the Catholics, not as proof of their desire of union, but as a natural right, to refuse which would have been injustice, and to concede which, was mere duty. Such a class of liberals (how many usurped the name, with little title to the reality!) immediately assumed the patronising air of masters; set up their protection as an object of competition to contending parties; volunteered superciliously their counsels; and insulted with their tardy and capricious assistance; until at last the Catholics, revolting from the dependence which they had been unfortunately the first to encourage, turned round with fierceness, and altogether rejected, in a moment of irritation, both co-operation and advice.

Such was the situation of the Protestants who avowed themselves favourable to the concession of the Catholic claims; for several years previous to the events which we have just been

detailing—when, with a view probably of concentrating whatever was still liberal in the country, or preventing the Association from altogether absorbing the public interest, in a manner which was considered by those who saw but a small portion of the general system, as highly detrimental to the cause, or perhaps with no other object than a vague desire of benefiting the country, without much inquiry into the means by which it was to be effected, a society under the designation of a “Society for the Improvement of Ireland,” was set on foot, and commenced its sittings in the Mansion House, under the immediate auspices of the Lord Mayor. It was open to all sects and to all classes;—was intended to be confined to the simple consideration of the agricultural and commercial interests of the country;—of course excluded politics;—and was to apply to Government and Parliament for the purpose of carrying its plans into effect for their support. So many of these joint-stock experiments (not more wisely constructed in general than the academies of Laputa) had of late attracted and deceived the public, that no great confidence or interest was excited in the Irish mind by the first proceedings of the new society. They prophesied for it over its very cradle, an ephemeral and useless

existence. They already laughed over its early and untimely death. The prophecy was soon accomplished. After an inefficient series of meetings, in which various plans were brought forward and discussed, on the drainage of the bogs of Ireland, on the execution of a ship-canal, &c. &c. the Society gradually relaxed in exertions, which were neither assisted by the Government nor the country, and its meetings were for a while suspended, rather from the voluntary secession of the members than by any formal act of the body itself. It was found, that as long as the Catholic question continued unsettled, the public mind would also continue so totally absorbed by its consideration, that it would be absurd to expect such a degree of attention as could insure even the slightest encouragement to any plan of national improvement. This fact, which had presented itself to the Catholics in a great variety of forms, and has been amongst the worst of the many evils consequent upon delay, was now placed in the clearest point of view before the nation at large. This was a great benefit, but it was destined to be the forerunner of many others of much higher importance. The first conclusion which every rational man drew, from the evidence which such a failure so strongly exhibited, was, that nothing could be done, until the ques-

tion was finally settled, for any portion of the country; and the next, that every man at all interested in its improvement or prosperity, was, by his duty and interests, sacredly obliged to give every aid in his power to promote as speedily as possible a settlement, which had now become not merely desirable, but absolutely necessary.

These impressions might have continued for a considerable time longer to hover loosely and idly over the public mind, had not the late measures of the Association and the Catholic body at large, pressed more and more immediately the decision of the liberal Protestants. They soon found themselves in a situation, which they could scarcely have anticipated. They thought the question would have been temperately and gradually adjusted by the gentle ebbing of ancient prejudice, and the constantly augmenting majorities in the Commons, by a necessary induction, would finally produce the just influence which public opinion, expressed by its most popular organ, must always produce upon the temper and decision of the Lords. Whilst this slow battle was going on, their course of proceeding appeared obvious and easy. A few speeches at public dinners—a few votes in either House—two or three complimentary letters, in return for

votes of thanks; all this did not require any great expenditure of time, talent, or patriotism; and in the mean time the Catholics might be safely entrusted with the management of their own cause, and their friends maintain their privilege of censuring or commending at a distance. Nothing could be apprehended from the Association. There was then no other body in direct collision with it. A few violent speeches, or even a few violent resolutions, on the part of their adversaries, could carry with them no intrinsic weight; they defeated their objects generally by their very violence. The passion for oratorical display is an original sin of the Irish, but it has never produced consequences more fatal to the peace of a country than any other theatrical exhibition. The liberal Protestant sate quietly looking on—read his article in the *Edinburgh Review*, or the *Morning Chronicle*—prophesied that some time or other the question would be carried—regretted the obstacles which the Catholics had thrown in their own way—trusted to the gradual illumination of the lower classes in England, and then sipped his tea, and proved to his *own* satisfaction that he had fully done his duty.

But in a few—a very few months indeed—all this was destined to undergo the most thorough

alteration. The Provincial and other meetings, the Churchwarden system, the Liberal Club system, were not sufficient to disturb them from their repose. These were things which, though containing within them the principles of mighty change, did not strike the senses of men ; but when the Clare election fell like the blast of the trumpet amongst them, they then, for the first time, suddenly awoke, and found the Catholic Association on one hand, and Brunswick Clubs on the other, like long lines of hostile intrenchments, from north to south, from east to west, threatening and frowning on each other through the entire country,—then indeed did they begin to think, that the time had come, and fully come, for something more than fair words, and that they must make their election, and make it instantly, between the ranks of either army. The neutrals bring about revolutions ; and the Athenian legislator showed not only a just sense of the nature and working of political institutions, but a deep insight into the first principles of human nature itself, when, by a formal law in his republic, he rendered them infamous. The liberal Protestants could not practise this coward moderation. They ran risk of being crushed by the closing, and conflict of either power. They were alternately driven

from one to the other, until they had at last the prudence—the inevitable prudence—clearly and irrevocably to decide between them. A crisis had arrived for Ireland. It was doubtful on what side, whether for evil or for good, the trembling balance would determine. Add to this the stings of mortified pride. The Catholics were a nation contending for freedom; the anti-Catholics were haughty masters, who fought for mastership; but the men, neither Catholic nor Orange, who stood between the masters and the nation, were distrusted by one party, despised by the other, and finally sunk into the servants of both. The English nation knew them not; Protestantism knew them not; the anti-Catholics assumed that they were the only Protestants and the only Loyalists in Ireland. It was full time for them to take the attitude which became them; it was full time to disabuse the Empire. A few fell off to the opposite party; but the majority, when the hour of action could no longer be deferred, declared at last for the Catholic, and for Ireland.

But their first steps were uncertain, gradual,—perhaps timid. Circumstances demanded caution, and they were not principals in the quarrel. They had coolness and impartiality enough to be judicious. Their first measure

was not a petition, which had now become rather a hacknied mode of expressing public opinion, and required an arrangement of machinery not yet within their grasp. They wisely abstained from any concert or connexion with the Catholic Association. The object was to give an exclusively Protestant colour to their acts, and to rescue their measures, before the country and the legislature, from even the imputation of Catholic bias. The weight which such representations would carry with the legislature, would of course depend upon the exclusiveness and sincerity which characterised them. An echo of the Association would have produced an effect considerably inferior to the voice of the Association itself. This was good policy—the obvious wisdom of cool statesmen. Many Catholics quarrelled with it at the time; but it was not the first occasion that the Catholics required to be saved from themselves. Their first measure was temperate, simple, and above all comprehensive.* A declaration, expressive of the deep

* It was something more than a petition—it was a guarantee for future co-operation. The first declaration did not meet the views of many gentlemen: a second was drawn up, with some trifling variations in the phraseology. This was sound sense and real patriotism. It embraced every one.

sense which the Protestant noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland entertained of the situation of the country, and the firm conviction they felt that no remedy was now adequate to repress the evils which impended, which did not include Catholic Emancipation, was drawn up, and circulated through every part of the country. A similar document had been handed round the preceding year, principally through the untiring exertions of Sir Charles Morgan; but the Protestant mind, generally speaking, was not yet ripe for such an appeal, and it met with a very partial reception. The committee, to whom its management had been entrusted, was indefatigable. In a very short period, it received the most respectable signatures in Dublin, and the earnestness with which it was seconded in most parts of the interior, particularly in the South of Ireland, furnished convincing proof that the Protestant mind was at last fully kindled to a sense of the imminent dangers with which every class of citizens was surrounded, and convinced that it required the most united and instant efforts of all that was intelligent and liberal to ward them off ere it was too late from the country. The Declaration, in the space of a few months, was signed by two dukes, seven marquesses, twenty-seven earls, eleven

viscounts, twenty-two barons, two counts, twenty-two baronets, fifty-two members of the House of Commons, and upwards of two thousand gentlemen of other ranks, all of whom were personally interested in the condition of Ireland.

The convincing refutation which this document furnished to the assertions of the Brunswick Clubs, had a very important effect, not only on the mind of reflecting men in England, but scarcely in a less degree upon the spirit of the Protestants themselves. It proved to a demonstration, that a large proportion of Protestant rank, wealth, and intelligence, was ranged on the side of justice and conciliation, and little more was requisite to give it its full influence on the public opinion of the country, than a better mode of bringing it into action, and prolonging its power, by a constant and uniform combination.

A circumstance unlooked for, and which had no immediate connexion with the measures actually in progress, contributed materially to elicit from both parties, that expression of cordial and determined union, which circumstances hitherto had unfortunately kept concealed. Lord Morpeth, the eldest son of Lord Carlisle, for whose co-operation in seconding Sir Francis Burdett's motion the Catholics felt themselves

extremely grateful, was on his return to England, after an extensive tour through Ireland, undertaken for the purpose of collecting juster views of the country, than is common to most Englishmen. The talents of this young nobleman, the influence which his name, and family, and ministerial connexions commanded, were second only to the high estimate which the Catholics had formed of his devotion to their cause. The Catholics resolved by a public dinner, to testify this sense of his services, and to give him and other Protestants an opportunity of expressing their opinions on the existing state of Catholic affairs. This testimony of public feeling was originally suggested by the Catholics, but the occasion was seized and improved on with great judgment and felicity, by their Protestant friends. The dinner was one of the most numerously attended which had yet been given in Dublin. The Duke of Leinster presided, supported by the Marquesses of Clanricarde and Westmeath. The tone of feeling which evinced itself at that important meeting, was fully commensurate to their most ardent hopes. All sectarian jealousy—all ancient rivalries—were laid aside. A junction between both parties—an immediate, close, and earnest junction, was the hope and the desire expressed by every speaker. All sepa-

rate views, all party principles, were extinguished in the greatness of a common cause. The enemies of the Catholic and of the friends of the Catholic had united—the union of both had henceforth become a duty. The enthusiasm with which these declarations were received and returned, was the surest augury of final success. The advantages of such a combination had been long conspicuous—every man was now convinced of the facility with which it could be carried into execution. Before the evening festivities were over a requisition was circulated, convening a meeting of Catholics and Protestants, under the common and better denomination of the Friends of Civil and Religious Freedom, for the purpose of recording, in the most ample and decided manner, their joint opinions of the urgent necessity of immediate concession, and placing in a still more forcible view than had been yet attempted, before his Majesty's government, the large mass of national wealth and respectability which were anxious for such a final and early adjustment of the Question. The Requisition was signed by three hundred noblemen and gentlemen present, and transmitted for signatures to the country, accompanied by a series of firm and moderate resolutions, based on the celebrated resolutions

of Buckingham House, and the late Protestant Declaration, and expressive of the objects immediately intended by the proposed meeting. It was originally suggested that it should be held on the 11th of December, in concurrence with the Catholic aggregate meeting fixed for the same period, but finding that it would be more judicious to wait the convenience of the Irish members of either house, and to bring the opinions of so important an assembly as closely and directly as possible on the attention of parliament, it was ultimately postponed to the 20th of January, 1829, and appointed to take place on that day in the Great Hall of the Rotunda. In the interval the Duke of Leinster was requested to transmit, with as much expedition as possible, the Protestant Declaration to his Majesty's ministers, but in an especial manner to the Duke of Wellington, begging his most deliberate and mature consideration to the same. But in the mean time events took place of the most remarkable importance ; events which hurried to its close, with a rapidity beyond the calculations even of the most sanguine, the *dénouement* of this strange and eventful history.

Towards the close of December, a very remarkable production, from the hand of the Duke of Wellington, arrested the attention of the pub-

lic. A letter appeared in the public papers, addressed to the Catholic primate Dr. Curtis, on the subject which at that period engrossed the attention of the entire empire. It was extremely short and extremely obscure, involved in terms apparently contradictory, and written for purposes which did not appear at first sight very obvious. Recent circumstances have partially explained these difficulties; but there are points in the correspondence which still elude the curiosity of the inquirer. The impressions it produced were scarcely less diverse and conjectural, than the text of the letter itself. There was much special pleading on terms, and some exceptions taken to a variation in the copies; but, all these difficulties obviated, the surmises still continued very nearly as doubtful as before. Some read in the Duke's letter an unchangeable hostility to the Catholic claims, and congratulated themselves on having, in the permanence of the Duke's government, the best pledge for the continuance of that exclusive system, which it had hitherto been the object and effort of their entire policy to uphold. Others again, extracting from it with a studious complacency those passages only, which were favourable to their hopes, already saw, in the perspective indications of a change in the councils of government,

which seem strongly confirmed by the late speech of Mr. Dawson;* and the continuance in the administration of a nobleman so well known for his liberal opinions as the Marquess of Anglesey. This view, supported as it has since been by the late important events, had scarcely sufficient vouchers for it in the letter itself. The more rational opinion, arguing on preceding evidence, regarded it as little more

* Mr. Dawson was one of the first of his own party who reasoned on this alarming state of public affairs with the temper and philosophy of a statesman. No speech, previous to his justly celebrated speech at Derry, went so far into the real sources of the disease. His review of the external symptoms and the internal causes of the evils of Ireland, so studiously confounded, and so necessary to be distinguished, is just, clear, conscientious, and often eloquent. He fully comprehended the machinery and working of the great engine: the Association had been laid bare to his eyes; he had the courage and skill to exhibit it in all its truth to the eyes of others. The time also chosen for this service to the country, was happy. Mr. Dawson had shared, it is true, in great part, the impressions made on Mr. Brownlow by the examinations before the Committee on the state of Ireland in 1825; but it may be doubted whether he had then come to a determinate conclusion, like Mr. Brownlow. At all events, he gave the impulse, when the impulse was most necessary. He was totally ignorant of the change of opinion going on in the Cabinet. He had therefore the glory and the merit (and it is no slight one) of anticipating, and not following, the conversion of the ministers.

than a concise abridgment of the Duke's speech during the last Catholic debate in the Lords, and attributed to it no more importance than to any other effort which had formerly been made to keep things in that sort of balanced or neutral state, which might without further exertion, prorogue the necessity of decisive measures for a few years longer. But there were peculiarities connected with the present publication of a perfectly original nature: it must have excited the astonishment of an impartial person to find, that with all the avowed hostility to the priesthood and religion of the Catholics, and the continued resistance to a relaxation of the disabilities under which they laboured, a Popish bishop should have been selected at such a moment, and for such a communication, by the Premier of the empire, and such a premier as the Duke of Wellington. Why write on such a topic? why write to Dr. Curtis? why write at all? This surprise was farther heightened by a still more remarkable letter, which followed the Duke's a few days after. The Marquess of Anglesey addressed the same dignitary, but in a style very characteristically distinguished from that of the Duke of Wellington's. There was nothing dubious; nothing concealed; nothing contradictory. It expressed,

in temperate language—manly feelings—just opinions—ardent wishes, for the happiness and safety of the country. No document had lately appeared in Ireland so completely in accord with the character of the people. It was the open appeal of a high-spirited and anxious friend. The people accepted it, in the same spirit in which it was given. Acclamations of affectionate gratitude arose from all sides. The Marquess had no need of any other proclamation to subdue into perfect obedience the passions and spirit of the Catholic population. The anti-Catholic railed, or sunk into a sullen silence. The chief passages were made the watchwords of the country. If a disposition to riot was evinced, if the people forgot for a moment the interest of the cause, in the interests or passions of the individual, the name of Anglesey was sufficient charm to persuade them back into immediate tranquillity. “Constitutional agitation” was made the precept and the practice of every class. In the midst of these general felicitations, these good auguries for future success, this certainty that in their chief governor they had a protector, on whom, in the worst of times, all classes might impartially rely, a calamity, which had never been less calculated on than at such a moment, fell suddenly upon

the country. The Marquess of Anglesey was formally and peremptorily *recalled*.

It was some time before the public could recover from the astonishment, which this event produced. No individual of his Majesty's government seemed to be so entirely in the confidence, both of his Majesty and of his Minister, as the Marquess of Anglesey himself. Nothing could be more explicit than the expression of his political opinions previous to his acceptance of the important situation, with which he had been just entrusted.* Nothing could be more plain and direct, than every portion of his administration, from the first day in which he held the reins of the Irish government. Impartiality and fair play; lenitives and not coercives; a just appreciation (derivable from patient investiga-

* The Marquess had a conference with several members of the Opposition, with Lord Wellington, and finally an audience on the same day with his Majesty himself, which left no doubt on his mind, that his intended plan of government was perfectly well known, and approved of, by all parties. Lord Anglesey had not only been an emancipator at an early period, but from his repugnance to vote against the Question, resigned his seat in the House of Commons in 1801, when Mr. Pitt quitted the administration. Since that period, the Marquess has uniformly supported the Catholic Question, with the single exception of the vote which he gave in 1825; the result of a misconception, caused by the irritating language and conduct of the Association.

tion) of the real evils of Ireland, and of the real remedies most applicable to their cure, had been from the very outset the straightforward principles of his government. These principles, so far from having been concealed, were the boast and peculiar glory of the Marquess, to have extended to every part of his administration. The Duke of Wellington could not recently have come to a knowledge of what was in the eyes, or on the tongue of every one. No palpable violation of acknowledged subordination was obvious. Nothing that could justify a measure of extreme rigour, nothing above all which could explain the inconsistency of such an order having issued from a quarter to whom the Marquess was well known to be attached, not merely by the bonds of public duty, but by the still stronger ties of personal affection and regard.

The first impulse, was to attribute this extraordinary event to the letter of which we have been just speaking. But the passions or fears of individuals had more influence in such a judgment, than an accurate knowledge of the facts. The assertion was totally unfounded. The letter did not appear till several days after the order of recall had actually arrived.* Others

* On the 22nd, the Committee appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the proposed Rotunda meeting as-

again ascribed it to private pique—to circumstances arising out of the removal of Messrs. Steele and O'Gorman Mahon from the commission of the peace ;*—finally to the encou-

sembled, and on the day after a copy of the letter of the Duke of Wellington was sent from Dundalk to one of the members of the committee, and was by him transmitted to the Marquess of Anglesey. The following day, the 24th, the original was inclosed by Dr. Curtis to his Excellency, and it was very probable, as erroneous copies would soon get into circulation, it was thought right at once to publish it. On the 25th the letter of the Marquess was written and inclosed to Dr. Curtis, under the strictest injunctions of secrecy, injunctions which Dr. Curtis punctually obeyed. The 30th of December the Marquess received his letter of recall, dated on the 28th. Consultations were held on the 31st. It was debated, whether in the actual state of the country, and the apprehension which might legitimately be entertained, of immediate disturbances on the announcement of this measure, it would not be prudent to give publicity and circulation to the letter of the Marquess without farther delay. Then for the first time, and for purposes only of good, it was made known to the country. It is quite clear, from a comparison of these dates, that it had nothing to do with the conduct of the Duke of Wellington ; nor is it at all proved, that had it been known to his Grace, it would have been deemed of *itself*, a sufficient ground for a letter of recall.

* The two gentlemen in question had attended a Brunswick meeting in the county of Clare. The High Sheriff, apprehensive of a riot, had called in the military for the purposes of protecting it. Mr. O'Gorman Mahon had used in speaking to the military some expressions, not very

ragement which was said to be extended by the Marquess of Anglesey in a manner not exactly

complimentary to the High Sheriff. The High Sheriff lodged his complaint. It was inquired into. The necessary depositions were taken. No evidence sufficiently strong could be obtained against the accused. The words could not be sworn to; the facts could not be proved. The law authorities (scrupulously consulted on the occasion) declared that there being no *conviction*, there could be no *punishment*, and counselled the Marquess to dismiss the complaint. This was clear, common, English justice. But Ireland had not yet a title to the luxury. The gentlemen were members of the Association. They were the chief instigators and conductors of the Clare contest, and unfortunately they were also magistrates. The old arbitrary right or wrong system was still in operation. He was peremptorily deprived of the commission. If it were wrong for Mr. Mahon, being a magistrate (but not appearing as a magistrate), to use such expressions to the military, how much more incorrect for a High Sheriff in his official capacity to call a meeting, so obnoxious to public feeling as to require for its protection the presence of the military? If Mr. O'Gorman Mahon was to be punished, how comes it that the High Sheriff was not to be even censured? If British citizens are to be punished without conviction, what is the meaning of British justice? If magistrates are to be dismissible at the mere pleasure of the crown, that is, of the Castle clerks, how can magistrates be expected to act with impartiality? Does not the government create the *partisan*? what right afterwards has it to exclaim against the existence of the corruption or the faction to which such a conduct must necessarily give rise? The same spirit of action subsequently

in accord with the views of government, to the proceedings and leaders of the Catholic Association.* Portions of these reports were correct, and when taken in mass, they may have originated impressions which went far in deciding the conduct of the cabinet.† Whatever may

led to the dismissal of Mr. Steele from the magistracy, upon the alleged ground of his having addressed a meeting of the peasantry, in the county of Limerick, calling upon them, "through their allegiance to the Association," to remain peaceful and quiet.

* Lord W. Paget, Lord Forbes, &c. had appeared at the Association from motives of curiosity, once—so had Lord Ellenborough, &c. &c. Their visit was noticed—they did not repeat it. His Excellency never saw Mr. Sheil—saw Mr. O'Connell once—Mr. Lawless twice on a silk-trade deputation, and actually dined I believe twice with Lord Cloncurry: it is true Lord C. was a member of the Association; but Lord Cloncurry is also an excellent magistrate, an excellent country gentleman, and feels as much for the interests of Ireland as Mr. Gregory. Even this was not without a precedent. How came the present government to satisfy themselves, that the Duke of Richmond was not a united Irishman, after his dinner with Hamilton Rowan?

† The Marquess's recall was not to be ascribed to any one particular act, but the spirit and temper of his whole administration. The government on this side of the water had not emerged from the ignorance in which their predecessors had left them. Mr. Peel retained many of his Castle impressions, and it must be recollected that he had filled the office of Irish secretary at a period of all others the most

have been the principle of this very important change, the effect on the country was extraor-

calculated to impress anti-Catholic and anti-Irish opinions on the mind of a young Englishman. The Duke of Wellington, to a certain degree, might be comprised under the preceding observation, but his larger knowledge of mankind, and his contact with other churches and states than those of England, must have left him much more open than his colleague to the operation of facts. To such Ministers, the clear and energetic statements of the Marquess, again and again put forward, must have appeared startling. They were in no sort of harmony with the former partisan communications from the Castle, and appeared at first sight to have originated from some strange but concealed influence behind the vice-regal throne, in actual hostility to the government. This secret oracle was sought for. Mr. Gregory travelled into England for his health during the summer; and Lord Cloncurry, Hamilton Rowan, or the Catholic Association, were believed to have guided the pen and presided over the counsels of his Excellency. A correspondence ensued, on very unequal terms, and terminated, as all such correspondences usually do, in disgrace of the weaker party. But the Marquess may now summon in his vindication his very impugnors themselves. The policy for which the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel are lauded (and justly lauded), it will not be forgotten was the identical policy for which Lord Anglesey was condemned. At the same time it will be conceded, that the Duke stood in a very slippery position, and had great difficulties to contend with. His own correspondence is the best evidence how much he had to overcome, of prejudice, or indecision, or hostility, in the royal mind. Every rumour from Ireland proved a new obstacle. The Duke was anxious that

dinary. Apprehensions were entertained that it would lead to the most disastrous consequences. Nor were these apprehensions altogether unfounded or exaggerated. On a calm retrospect from the position in which we at present stand, it may be safely avowed, that to the judicious publication of the Marquess's letter some days previous, and to his calm conduct subsequent to his recall, the exemption from all violence *in this most critical* period is principally to be ascribed.*

the Marquess's conduct should be such as not to lend colour to these rumours: but they did not understand each other. The question now is, whether a little more frankness would not have been the better policy.

* "But how was it to be allayed? What measures could I adopt to subdue the ferment? I could not communicate with the Catholic Association: I could not address the leaders of whom I have spoken: I could not formally proclaim my wishes; yet I was urged to do something to avert a public calamity. My Lords, it then flashed across my mind that this eventful letter might possibly be turned to some account. Dr. Curtis had confided to me the Noble Duke's letter to him on the subject of the Catholic Question: I had replied to it. My letter was (as I before said) written in strict confidence—it was not meant to see the light—it was marked 'private and confidential;'—and taking a lesson from the circumstance of the Noble Duke's letter to the same reverend person having become public, in consequence of his Grace having omitted to *mark* it private, and of his having franked the letter himself, I caused my letter

Addresses poured in on all sides, in spite of corporation and other opposition, wherever it could be offered, expressive of the profound regret with which the Catholics and liberals viewed this most sinister event. They regarded it in general, as the most emphatic expression which the Minister could have afforded of an immediate and entire change of system. The Catholics already prepared themselves for a recurrence of that reign of terror, which at a former period had searched with such dreadful energy to the very inmost parts of the social system. They saw oppressive measures one after one brought

to be franked by my Secretary, who, at the same time, wrote to desire that it might be considered as being written in my private character, and not as Lord Lieutenant. It is evident, then, that this letter was not meant for publication. I then said to these gentlemen—'Go to Dr. Murray (the person to whom alone the letter had been entrusted by Dr. Curtis); look at that letter; see if any good use can be made of it:—if so, I give up all private considerations for the public good. You may produce it, if necessary.' A consultation was held as to the expediency of publishing this letter; the parties who interested themselves in the subject, conceived that it contained the advice of a real friend to Ireland, and that it would be advantageous that its sentiments should be promulgated. The letter was accordingly made public."—*Marquess of Anglesey's Speech in the House of Lords, 4th May, on moving for papers relative to his recall from Ireland (published by authority).*

into fierce and uncontrollable action ; the country surrendered up to its old enemies for their disport ; the violent disruption of all the bonds of civil life ; the midnight massacre commencing ; new outrages justifying new oppression ; new oppression justifying new outrages ; till at last the entire country, no longer capable of enduring this intolerable state of things, should rush at once into flagrant war, and cast every interest to the bloody decision of the scaffold and the sword. The Orange faction viewed the exertion of the prerogative in a similar light. They already triumphed in the completion of their projects : that secret alliance between the crown and the faction, of which they had so often boasted in private, they now daringly and ferociously proclaimed : they called out from the north to the south, through all their clubs, to support the hands of his Majesty's government ; they looked forward to the renewal of their charter of misrule ; and whilst on one hand they heaped every description of factious abuse on the Marquess of Anglesey, the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel were placed on the altar of their idolatry, and worshipped with the most servile adulation, as the uncompromising champions of Protestant ascendancy.

The meetings of the Catholics, so far how-

ever from evincing any unworthy despondency on this momentous occasion, assumed a tone which was worthy of freemen, and called on all classes of their countrymen, ere it was too late, to interpose their influence and exertions, with their whole strength and their whole soul, between the country and destruction. The liberal Protestants, with less ardour, were not less earnest or less firm. During the government of the Marquess they had, for the first time, obtained a power and importance in the country as a party, to which till then, they had been utter strangers. Prior to his administration, a Catholic could scarcely have less chance of obtaining an audience from the all-powerful Castle Secretary than an avowedly liberal Protestant. They were not only without any consideration as a party, but even of that consideration to which individual rank, talent, or property, might have given them a legitimate claim; they were studiously defrauded, partly through the old spirit of official retaliation, and partly with a view to mark more strongly the reprobation of the Marquess's system. A person unacquainted with the absolutely partisan government of every thing Irish, during several years back, will find it impossible to form any just notions of the strict line of demarcation which had been established

between the Castle and the liberal party. Men the most distinguished amongst it, were not only treated with the most calculating indifference, but had not even the opportunity allowed them of a personal acquaintance with the ordinary ministers of the Executive. The results were obvious: every thing which came to the hands of government, came in a garbled and ex parte form. Nothing was done to consult the people: the only object of the entire government seemed to be, to feed the slave-master at the expense of the slave. This colonial system was broken up by the Marquess with a total disregard to all precedents of former misrule: the bureau influence was obliged to allow free passage for the representations of the country; the government came in contact with public opinion as it really existed; two sides and two pleaders were heard for the first time in the precincts of the Castle, upon every question of public policy. The liberal Protestants at length obtained their natural weight: their opponents, by coming into the lists with men perfectly well qualified to compete with them, were reduced to their natural dimensions. The liberal Protestants were satisfied, for they had public and generous objects in view: their antagonists were dissatisfied,—they looked chiefly

to the continuance of their habitual system of misrepresentation, and its natural consequence, monopoly. No body of men could then feel more deeply than the liberal Protestants, the departure of such a Viceroy. Their addresses faintly expressed the profound sentiments of regret and despondency which were heard during that critical pause between the two systems. Not only did they contemplate an instant relapse into all the ancient evils of Irish politics, but they apprehended, from the aid which they had recently given the Catholics, that their conduct would be visited with the most severe retaliation by the new government. Again, they would be compelled to retire to their former insignificance, or be delivered over, with additional circumstances of pain and contumely, to the insult and injuries of a triumphant enemy.

During all this period, the conduct of the Marquess of Anglesey was unexceptionable ; the most envious eye could not find a spot for the gratification of its malignity : to the Irish people it will be a subject, in all their fortunes, of the most affectionate recollection. No one approached him during those days of sorrow and apprehension, without being fully penetrated by the sincerity, the justice, the high and statesman-like spirit, with which it was his intention to

have governed Ireland. It was then chiefly, that men began to know how much they had lost. His kindliness tempering his dignity, but detracting in nothing from it; the sympathy with which his whole family united in the expression of the same feelings for Ireland, the impressive cordiality, the perfect forgetfulness of self in his parting counsels, won all hearts, and made him indeed the truly regretted of all the people. Few of the many deputations who approached him on that interesting occasion—and there were men of all classes—but left him with sentiments of almost personal regret. He was implored to continue till the Rotunda meeting, which was now approaching, should take place; but with that honourable anxiety to avoid whatever might bear even the imputation of personal pique, or opposition to his Majesty's wishes, which has ever characterised his conduct, he anticipated the meeting by a day or two, and left Ireland on the 18th of January.

The procession which accompanied him that day to Kingstown harbour, will not easily be obliterated from the memory of the Irish nation. The enthusiasm of the people was grave, profound, and taciturn. There was no unseemly riot; no turbulence; no invective: the blessings were not loud, but deep. Banners bearing

the passages of his letter, his last advice to the people, enwreathed in crape, were borne by the different trades before him; a long suite of carriages followed: every class in the metropolis mingled. In the midst of all this crowd the eye anxiously sought out for the late Viceroy. The Marquess rode uncovered in the midst of his friends and fellow-soldiers, and saluted the people with an expression of mingled pain and pleasure: there were few guards; an insignificant escort; no troops: he went escorted by the affections of the people. Since the day of Lord Fitzwilliam—to which they often on that day likened it, with a prayer that it might not lead to a repetition of the scenes which so soon followed—nothing of the kind had been witnessed in Dublin. Thousands greeted him from the shore, as if with him had fled all hopes, and all chances for Ireland. He embarked amidst their blessings, and on his now passing from their sight, returned home in silence, to meditate on the misfortunes which seemed impending over their unhappy country.*

* I select one amongst the many addresses, presented on this memorable occasion. It contains a concise summary of the Marquess's administration:—

“ You arrived in this country at a period peculiarly unfavourable to the acquisition of popularity. A new mi-

The meeting, however, appointed for the 20th in the Rotunda, was fast approaching. Men

nistry had been displaced, upon which the hopes of a large portion of the community had fondly rested. The change was felt as a defeat, and you were associated with their conquerors. Another portion hailed you as a deliverer from the ambitious aspirations of their Catholic antagonists. You had to guard yourself (a no less difficult task) against their indiscreet triumph. You achieved both. In a few weeks, by a great but simple spell, you captivated the general heart. The old Irish policy of division, for the first time, was abandoned. You wielded, not one fragment of the state against the other, for the benefit of the enemies of both; but you bound—you consolidated—you wisely directed the energies of all, to the desire and attainment of common good. You gave a triumph to neither, but justice to each—you saw Ireland in *all* her sons—you were not the representative of a faction, nor the governor of a faction—you ruled Ireland as a patriot should rule her. You were the best representative of the King—he has no higher title than *the Father of all his people*.

“His gracious Majesty, on leaving our island, recommended peace, harmony, and good-will. What he has recommended, you have done—and if not quite done, it was not because your intentions were below your means, but because your means were not equal to your intentions.

“During a period when all sects, all classes, were stirred from the depths in which they had slept, into a commotion fierce and perilous, beyond any known in our recent stormy history—when the entire nation split off into two adverse hosts—your justice, tempered with mercy—using the balance rather than the sword—walked between both

of the first distinction arrived to assist at this most important assembly. For two days pre-

armies—saved the people from their passions, and suspended, as far as in you lay, the rush and ruin of the coming conflict.

“ During your administration, new principles, or old principles which seemed new, were called into sudden action, and the irritation of former times was kindled with fresh irritations beyond any former example—still were the jails emptied, crime retrenched, the people restrained, commerce restored, industry encouraged. The nation saw that there was a beginning—the good began to hope, and the wise no longer despaired of the country.

“ Your Excellency has rendered a great and magnificent service to this distracted land. You have taught *yourself* the lesson, and shown how easily it might be practised—not by words only, but by example. In rendering a service to Ireland, you have rendered a service to the empire. In rendering a service to the subject, you have, if possible, rendered a still greater service to the King. If you have not given all, you have prepared for all. Your administration would gradually have emancipated, for it would gradually have liberalised Ireland.

“ With the benedictions of a grateful people your Excellency leaves our shores—may it not also be with their despondent regret ! We live in days of doubt, and of darkness. We cannot but remember that periods like the present preluded to the revolutions of America and France—to our own calamitous warfare of 1798. May no sinister and partial policy defraud the nation of the few hopes of redemption which are still left her !—and may our children’s children have no reason to assimilate, in after times, the

vious, the committee entrusted with the preliminary arrangements, held meetings of the greatest interest. The indignation at the Marquess's recall was extreme: but a sense of what was due to the cause, and indeed to his own feelings and advice, restrained every expression of these opinions within the bounds of the strictest moderation. Even the resolution complimentary to the Duke of Wellington's administration, and which embodied with so much justice that portion of his letter which bore an immediate reference to the religious peace of Ireland, was very slightly modified, and all testimonies of regret at the Marquess's departure limited to an address, in harmony with the general feeling at that time pervading the country.*

At an early hour the great room of the Rotunda was crowded, by one of the most numerous assemblies of the nobility and gentry of Ire-

causes and consequences of your Excellency's recall with those of the good Earl Fitzwilliam's!"

* This was so much the case, that an address to the King, praying him to reverse the letter of recall, and restore the Marquess of Anglesey to the affections of the people of Ireland (drawn up by Lord Cloncurry), was negatived in the committee by a great majority. Every thing was avoided, which could in the least compromise that attitude of dignity and good sense which the Marquess had chosen for his government.

land, which had ever been convened in public meeting. The Duke of Leinster took the chair. The Rev. Edward Groves, a Protestant clergyman, and Henry Arabin, Esq., to whose united exertions the Protestant declaration had been judiciously entrusted, acted as secretaries. The resolutions, already circulated and approved of through the country, were brought forward, and supported with an earnestness and zeal very different indeed from what had usually characterised Protestant meetings. The heart was thrown, for the first time, boldly and unreservedly, into the language. The Protestant and Catholic mingled together in the same imploring cry for the peace, the prosperity, the salvation of Ireland. Both speeches and resolutions spoke in clear and emphatic phraseology of the imperious necessity of immediate and generous concession; entreated the government to interpose with wisdom and liberality, before it was too late, between the country and the now undoubted certainty of civil war; pointed in plain and stern language to the real sources of these dissensions; and adjured the Sovereign and the legislature, by the most solemn appeals, to look into their existence with the energy which became a great nation, and apply boldly wise and searching remedies to their redress.

An address to the King, and petitions to both Houses of Parliament, were unanimously adopted. The opposite party at an early hour had threatened an attempt upon the tranquillity of the meeting; and two or three of their notorious partisans were to be seen hovering in the immediate neighbourhood of the Rotunda. But, whether from a conviction of their feebleness, or an apprehension that any disturbance would be visited by immediate castigation, they abstained altogether from all offensive interruption of the proceedings. Immediately after the first resolution had been put, a Mr. M'Crie, indeed, from the county of Kerry, a person known originally as a dissenting field preacher, and afterwards as a Brunswick orator, attempted to create confusion, by a proposition to divide the meeting, on the question of an adjournment; but the stratagem was too palpably such to merit any serious attention, and after a momentary appearance of disorder in that part of the hall where he happened to be stationed, every thing resumed its former propriety and decorum. One of the most touching incidents of this very remarkable scene, was the appearance, in the midst of the young and ardent men, with whom the platform was crowded, of the venerable patriot Sir John Newport. In the outset of his political life, he had

assisted in that same room at the great Convention, which under the auspices of Lord Charlemont had petitioned both of the Irish Houses for reform in parliament. To the exclusion of the Catholics and their cause from any participation in those great projects of amelioration, he attributed the failure of one of the most important revolutions, which had ever occurred, in the history of any country. "The occurrences of those days," said he, "should teach the present age that no species of freedom can be lasting, unless it be also general; that it cannot endure for any time, if it be but the freedom of a party, or the liberty of a sect, and that it must be overthrown if it be based on the ascendancy of one class of men over another." A noble and wise lesson, which, had it been learnt in time, would have saved Ireland many a tear, and England the whole of that miserable struggle for unjust power, which is doubly odious, when exercised in the bosom of a free government.

This memorable meeting, which may well stand beside the great Convention of 1783, both for the names which it collected, the principles which it recorded, and the great results to which it so speedily led, did not separate without taking the necessary measures for the practical enforcement of its opinions. The noble-

men and gentlemen who constituted the committee for the Protestant declaration, the dinner to Lord Morpeth, for conducting the arrangements of the late meeting, together with the movers and seconders of the resolutions just passed, were formed into a body to carry into effect these resolutions, and were earnestly requested, individually and collectively, to continue their exertions for the success of the great cause in which they were engaged—"the religious peace of Ireland."*

* This was not the first meeting held in the same place, for the purpose of co-operating with the Catholics in their struggle for the restoration of their civil rights. A meeting of the Protestants of the city of Dublin took place in the Rotunda, on the 11th February, 1811. The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor (Alderman M'Kenna) presided; on the platform was observed, the Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Charlemont, the Earl of Meath, Lord Cloncurry, the illustrious Grattan, Mr. Latouche, Mr. S. Tighe, M.P., Mr. Parnell, M.P., Ant. Blake, M.P., Mr. Power, M.P., Mr. Burrowes, Mr. Wallace, &c. &c. There were supposed to be nearly three thousand persons in the room. The meeting was purely Protestant. On the suggestion of Alderman Archer, the few Catholics who were in the hall, were requested to withdraw. Lord Frankfort, seconded by Mr. Ellis, and supported by half-a-dozen aldermen, attempted to carry an adjournment, but failed: after a great deal of confusion, the non-contents were induced to retire. A series of moderate resolutions,

The so appointed committee, pursuant to arrangement, met together at the Royal Hotel, College Green,* the day after, for the purpose of conducting the preliminaries of the public dinner, which was to close the proceedings of the Rotunda meeting. The dinner again brought together the majority of the noblemen and gentlemen who had assisted at the meeting of the day previous, and was the means of eliciting new pledges to the same great principles of civil and religious freedom, which had distinguished the deliberations of the yesterday. John David Latouche presided, and was supported by the Marquess of Clanricarde and the Marquess of Westmeath, vice-presidents.

Whilst the impulse which had been given was still strong, and the feelings of zeal and sympathy in the sufferings of their fellow-sub-

the first of which was moved by the Duke of Leinster, were unanimously adopted, and a petition to both Houses agreed upon, with a recommendation to have similar petitions signed and presented from the liberal Protestants, in every county in Ireland. All this was of use; but there is a very marked difference, indeed, between the spirit and measures of the two meetings. The meeting of 1811 produced nothing; the meeting of 1829 was followed by a junction between both parties, which was sincere, and would no doubt have endured.

* It was in this same room the articles of the legislative union were originally arranged.

jects fresh and ardent, it was thought possible that these impressions might be rendered far more efficiently and extensively useful by an immediate junction with the Catholic Association. The proposition originated from several influential gentlemen amongst the Protestants, and was received with gratitude and enthusiasm, and almost unanimity, by the Catholics. The rumour spread ; and long before any decisive measures could have been taken for the furtherance of the project, it was already announced in the Catholic Association, by individuals unauthorised certainly, and unconnected with the Committee, but still known for the zeal and activity which they manifested in the conduct of Catholic affairs, that a new body was about to be formed under the denomination of the *Irish Association*, which should merge all party distinctions in the common feeling of country, and annihilate for ever, in practice, all those miserable political divisions, which had so long kept them separate and ignorant, of each other. The effect of this declaration upon the people of Ireland was great. It produced a general feeling of enthusiastic cordiality and attachment, and had already half prepared the way for the projected union. Nothing could be a better evidence of the kind predispositions of the Ca-

tholics, or the total absence of any of those motives, the love of power or ascendancy, or the cherished retaining of old religious rancours, which had been so injuriously attributed to them, during every period of the struggle. But the effect on England was still more powerful. The opponents of the measure already saw a general and extraordinary revolution gradually maturing. The quarrel, instead of being Catholic and Protestant, was likely to become Irish and English. Sectarianism had changed into nationality. They imagined that henceforth the contest would assume something of the character of the great struggle of 1782, a battle not for an equality of rights between all classes of the same state, but ultimately perhaps for national independence and separation from the sister country. But the period had not yet arrived for such a junction. The project was full of zeal and sincerity; but the public mind was not yet ripe.

The committee emanating from the Rotunda meeting was not, however, indifferent to the proposition. They entertained it with all the judgment and good feeling to which it had a claim. Ten Catholics and ten Protestants, afterwards increased by an addition of ten more on either side, were appointed as a sub-committee

to inquire into the principle of such a coalition, and the means best calculated, in case it should meet the approbation of the meeting, of bringing it into immediate effect. The committee met and discussed at considerable length, for several days, the several bearings of this very important subject. The utility of the junction was unanimously admitted. The difficulties of practically effecting it, were embarrassing. Most of the Catholic members were anxious for this amalgamation, at any cost. Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Sheil thought it could be produced by the Protestants simply going down in a mass of thirty or forty, and giving in their names and subscriptions to the Catholic Association. Lord Killeen, Mr. Wyse, and others, regarded it as a matter which demanded the utmost care and consideration. They met the Protestant gentlemen half way, and gave them an opportunity of fully expressing their objections. After three successive meetings, it appeared on mature examination of existing circumstances, and particularly of the "actual organization" of the Catholic Association, that the plan was impracticable. The Catholic Association was constituted in a very peculiar manner, in no sort of analogy with any other body on record. It was not a club; for members were admitted on the simple pro-

position of a member, and the previous payment of 1*l.* subscription, and not by ballot: it was not a representative body; for "no member stood there as the representative or delegate of any town, borough, county, or individual whatsoever." It was an open society, calculated and intended to extend to almost every part, not only of Ireland and England, but of France and America, and the rest of the civilised world. It thus became, in the strongest sense of the word, a truly irresponsible body. The apartment in which it assembled could contain but a small portion even of the resident members. Thus no guarantee could possibly be given, that the opinions of one day would continue to be the opinions of another; or the votes of the assembly at which a gentleman assisted, might not be rescinded by a new body on the morrow. A man entering a society necessarily desires to understand thoroughly the nature of the principles and the conduct of those to whom he is about to pledge himself; but in a body so fluctuating, so composed of multitudinous and fleeting particles, he had no assurance that he might not pledge himself to men and measures concurring in appearance, but in reality and result, the most opposite to his own opinions and rule, of political action. This evil, great as

it unquestionably was, was still further enhanced by another very little inferior. The admission of non-members into the rooms at one shilling each, often gave a very erroneous tone to the public meetings. It was true, indeed, that in cases of dubious discussion, or where great interests were at stake, a strict separation of the members from the non-members would have been insisted on; but those cases were of rare occurrence, and in the interval, the influence of the externs on the public deliberations was frequently pernicious. All the violent measures of the Jacobin clubs at Paris originated, and were forced on the meeting, by the galleries. It was quite clear, then, that the Protestant who demanded some security against these objectionable portions of the system, demanded nothing but what he might reasonably suppose to be essential to his own independence, and requisite to secure him against the risk of being identified with proceedings, of which possibly he could not in every particular approve. Another concession upon which he insisted, I will not say with the same justice, was the restriction in future of the subjects of debate, within the precise and narrow limits of the Catholic question, excluding of course every thing which could touch upon matters of collateral

policy or legislation, upon which difference of opinion might be supposed to exist, such as the Church, the Subletting act, the Repeal of the Union, &c. These conditions were expressed forcibly by some of the Protestant gentlemen, by others incidentally and reluctantly; but it was quite obvious, that with one or two exceptions, whether tacit or expressed, such was the unanimous opinion of their entire party. The Catholics on their side did not feel themselves authorised, whatever might be their opinions individually, to enter into such guarantees or alterations for the body at large; and measuring things by their practical utility, rather than by their theoretical advantages, they could not but feel that the Catholic Association so altered, would lose a great portion of its influence on the mind of the people. The secret of that influence was its wide extension over the country at large, and the extreme facility with which it aggregated to itself every species of public exertion, in every class through every part of the Catholic community. No organization could more successfully flatter the self-love of individuals, or more closely bind them to a common principle of action: any restriction of such extension would have been fatal: the very suspicion, would have produced a portion at least

of the bad results which might be apprehended from the reality ;—it would have chilled the enthusiasm of the people ; relaxed their exertions ; diminished the returns of the Catholic Rent ; sown new divisions ; generated anew counter-associations, such as Ribbon meetings, &c. amongst the peasantry ; and thus neutralised perhaps in a few weeks, the good of the many laborious years which had preceded them. But there were other evils also, to which the most ample concessions to the wishes of the Protestants would ultimately have exposed both Protestant and Catholic. The Catholic Association was composed of very heterogeneous materials :—there was the old aristocracy party ; the mercantile party ; the party of the clergy, very diversified also by its own aristocracy and democracy ; and finally, the bar party, which was split into two classes totally distinct. The bar had now for many years been the active guide of Catholic politics, and in some instances, advantages were derivable from this interference of the greatest importance : in the latter struggles of the Catholic question, it required undoubtedly a minute acquaintance with all the technicalities of the law, to protect the body from any of those numerous errors to which their ignorance might otherwise have exposed them.

But the bar itself was extremely divided ; Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Sheil, with all their intemperance, had, from their more extensive knowledge of the different parties in the state, views infinitely more sober and discreet, than many of those gentlemen, who in the same profession were gradually rising behind them. Young, inexperienced, and zealous as they were, little doubt can exist, that had the alterations demanded taken place, a month would scarcely have elapsed without an internal convulsion, or a gradual secession, not less productive of the most injurious consequences. Many of these young men valued the Association, as well for the theatre which it afforded to the early display of talent, and the opportunities which it opened to public notoriety, as for any beneficial consequences, which it produced to the country at large. Their views on these heads were singularly vague, and evinced a very limited knowledge of the operation of public opinion, or the judicious management of a popular engine upon the public mind. To deprive them of an arena and an audience, of the tumultuary, good-natured, and easily inflammable character which accompanied the actual popular organization of the Catholic Association, would have been in their mind to strike at the root of every thing

really valuable in the body, and to convert it from a popular public meeting, into a close chamber,—an oligarchical convention. There would have been constant appeals, as was formerly the case in the Catholic body, from the Association to aggregate meetings; and in these meetings, purely democratic, as they always have been, and otherwise liable to objection, the aristocrats would have been denounced, and the Protestant associators held up, as the cause of the coldness and apathy, which had begun to prevail amongst the body. The Protestants, however liberal, could not patiently have endured this summary exercise of popular censure, and would unquestionably, as more than one Catholic had done before them, have retired disgusted from the public scene. Such a revulsion would have been most fatal. The triumph of the adverse party would have been complete, and all hopes of future combination for a common purpose definitively and for ever at an end.

These objections were not removed by the Catholic members of the committee most anxious for the junction, and even the Lords Rossmore and Cloncurry, Mr. D. Latouche, and other Protestant members of the Association, finally concurred in their propriety. A middle

course was, however, practicable. There was no reason why the two bodies, constituted differently, applying different means to the one object, might not continue their sittings in the same metropolis, and at the same period, with great benefit to the common cause.* After

* In this point of view the British Catholic Association, sitting in London, was of unquestionable utility. Difference of situation had produced difference of character, and rendered a difference of policy necessary. It was as unreasonable to ask from them our agitation and activity, as from us their gentleness and exceedingly placid temper. We had different manœuvres to execute in the same field for the same object, to each of which we were respectively adapted. It would be preposterous to require of the cavalry the service of the infantry, or of the infantry the service of the cavalry. This was not always kept in sight. Hence a great deal of unnecessary and injurious suspicion and rebuke. As to the late quarrel on "Securities," the Irish did right to keep clear of every offer of the kind. They already had been duped and swindled enough. Governments are like individuals (though by no means so honest), and shamelessly take advantage of these good-natured propositions. They have always done so, and will always do so to the end of time. The fault is not in the minister, but in the nature of the offence. The generosity of a nation is laughed at: such magnanimity is considered, and often justly considered, by these Machiavels, to be little better than weakness, and imbecility of spirit. It behoves the people, therefore, to be

much discussion, Mr. Wyse suggested that a distinct body, to be called the *Society of the Friends of Civil and Religious Freedom*, should immediately be formed (the present committee constituting the nucleus), and should still continue their co-operation with the Catholics on all subjects connected with the interests of their question. Lord Cloncurry proposed in addition, that there should be a standing sub-committee of conference, to be appointed by ballot from

also on their guard: when the bargain is about their rights, they cannot be sufficiently avaricious,—sufficiently hard.—But though these principles be just, it must also be remembered there are two ways of inculcating them. To call upon a body for a solemn disclaimer of the opinions of any member, however influential, is a most false principle, and would lead, if admitted, to endless injustice and inconvenience. Why did not the Catholic Association publish a disavowal of “the Duke of York speeches” of Mr. Sheil? Because the Catholic Association thought, and Mr. Sheil thought, that a body should be bound by its own declarations only, that is, by its own resolutions, and not by the opinions or principles of any man or any set of men whatsoever. In this the Association judged rightly; but when the occasion arrived for applying it to others, they altogether forgot their own precedent. They did to others, what they never would have suffered to have been done with impunity to themselves. As to the manner in which the censure was communicated, public opinion has already pronounced on it; and public opinion has pronounced as it ought.

each body ; but this it was apprehended would too closely connect them with the proceedings of the Association, and not very essentially differ from an absolute coalition. Mr. Wyse's suggestion, in its original simple form, was finally and unanimously adopted.

There can be little doubt, that had the great and final measure of relief been any longer deferred, this society would have proved, if properly conducted, a most powerful auxiliary to the Catholic Association. It was an unlimited society, similar to the Association, open to all sects and denominations. As many individuals were members of both Associations, a sufficient means of communication, and a connexion quite close enough for every useful and practical purpose, could have been easily maintained. Whenever a still closer union might have been rendered necessary or desirable, either by the very critical circumstances of the country, or the occurrence of some new emergency, the two bodies could without difficulty be amalgamated in the course of half an hour. There would be thus established on the one hand, a medium of communication with the liberal Protestants, with the government (if necessary), and with the English people, far less obnoxious to their prejudices than the Catholic Association ; and on

the other, in the hour of danger, an imposing power would be always ready to be brought up in rear, either as a moderator or supporter, to the assistance of the Catholics.

The "Society of the Friends of Civil and Religious Freedom" immediately commenced their proceedings, and one of their first measures was to appoint a sub-committee to watch the progress of the question during the ensuing session, and to co-operate if necessary with the Catholics, in furthering the common cause whilst in course of discussion through either house of parliament. Mr. O'Connell left Dublin about the same time, and several of his friends crowded to London to be present at the great question which he was so soon to plead at the bar of the House of Commons, when an event occurred of all others the least expected, and which fortunately in a moment rendered all these measures for the future unnecessary.

On the 6th of February, a day ever memorable in the history of the empire, a day which has opened a new era of internal peace for Ireland, the first day of hope, of happiness, of security, which has been permitted to her for centuries, the King's speech from the throne conveyed the gratifying assurance, that the ques-

tion was at last to be brought before parliament by his Majesty's ministers, with a view to such final and equitable adjustment, as might be most satisfactory to all classes of his Majesty's subjects.

This measure of grace and conciliation was, however, to be preceded by one specifically intended for the suppression of the Catholic Association, but extending to every species of political assembly in Ireland.

The announcement of this important intelligence was received on all sides with the most unbounded exultation and confidence; and though qualified by the coercive law suppressing the Association, a spirit of gratitude and tranquillity, in an instant superseded that angry and menacing state of things, which during the two last years had distracted the country. The first impulse of all the liberal Protestants, friends to emancipation, and many of the Catholics themselves, was to render unnecessary the application of the law, by their own voluntary act. It was quite true that an act of grace had been rendered ungracious by this unnecessary expenditure of government power on a body, which would of itself have disappeared before the restoration of peace and union, and the concession of their just rights to the reso-

lute and intelligent citizens, who composed it. Either a most erroneous opinion of the principle upon which the power of the Association and even its existence depended, must have prevailed in the cabinet; or with a feeling from which individuals are seldom exempt, but which it ought to have been the glory of the legislature and the government of a great country to have disdained, they wished to brand their antagonist with unnecessary defeat, and to give a false evidence to the country, that they had the power as well as the will, at last to suppress it. Every one of common sense must have at once perceived, that all this was but a puerile and petty idling with public opinion: no one was so blind or ignorant as to ascribe the dissolution of that body to the act of parliament; they gave the glory to whom the glory was due, to the justice and wisdom of the accompanying measure. And if by any untoward circumstances, it should have so happened, that the ignoble game of 1825 had been again played over, and the Relief bill had been thrown out in the Lords, or rejected finally, as it was preposterously expected by the Sovereign, it is as certain as there is a sun in heaven, that the suppression Association bill of 1829 would have been even more

ineffectual than that of 1825, and that in some shape or other the Catholic Association would have reappeared, but with a spirit of detestation tenfold augmented, and an inclination to reject in future every proffer at conciliation, until conciliation at last should have become impossible, and the contest been transferred from the senate to the field.

The Catholics, however, did not allow themselves to be swayed by these impressions. They could not but feel hurt by this want of reciprocity, and looked, not without some degree of contempt, at the mortified vanity, which thus attempted to find consolation for its former impotence, in a very miserable play upon the public. But the great cause was uppermost. It was the all in all. It subdued, it annihilated every other feeling. Beside it, every other subject was secondary and little. This was no moment for recrimination. The true lover of his country was imperatively called on to assist, by every means consistent with dignity and justice, in the noble work. Letters poured in on every side. The Marquess of Anglesey, still watching with an anxious solicitude over the destinies of a country, to which he was now more than ever attached, gave admirable advice,

in a strain the most kind and affectionate: the Knight of Kerry, and many other members of the lower house, evinced scarcely less desire to prevent any ebullition of popular feeling from interfering with the opening prospects of the country: several other gentlemen, Catholic as well as Protestant, joined their voices, and impressed upon the Association the propriety and expediency of an immediate dissolution. But Mr. O'Connell was opposed to the measure, and in two successive letters, one from Shrewsbury and the other from London, gave an emphatic opinion against the dissolution. Two very warm discussions took place on the subject in the Association. Mr. Sheil brought forward the proposition, and urged it with his usual eloquence, supported by Mr. Lawless: the opposition, conducted by Mr. Brady, supported by Mr. Forde, &c. made it for a time doubtful, whether Mr. O'Connell's opinion would not ultimately have prevailed. Several resolutions, by letter and *vivâ voce*, were suggested—some basing the dissolution on the true principle on which it should have rested, the inutility of retaining the exercise of means, when the end for which they were originally intended had been fully attained; others simply declaratory

of their confidence in government; others again, moving the dissolution without any reference to the causes, by which it had been produced. An amendment was attempted by Mr. Luke Plunkett, proposing that the Association should adjourn *sine die*; but besides that this did not materially differ from a positive dissolution, it implied a lurking apprehension on the part of the Catholics, that government was not yet sincere. But the time had fully come in which they might legitimately believe in Emancipation, and all feeling of doubt or want of confidence at such a moment, tended only to neutralise the advantages resulting from concession. This great national treaty of amnesty and reconciliation, to be useful and permanent, required to be met on both sides with a total abandonment of all selfish motive. The great mass of the body were of this opinion; the aristocracy were of this opinion; the prelacy and clergy were of this opinion (for Mr. Sheil was formally commissioned to communicate the assent of the bishops); and no real opposition existed to the dissolution, even on the part of the more turbulent portion of the Association. Mr. Sheil's motion was carried almost unanimously, and the Catholic Asso-

ciation of Ireland, after enduring, under various forms and with the intervention of occasional interruptions, from 1760, stood finally and perpetually *dissolved*.*

The announcement of this intelligence was received with the utmost satisfaction by the old

* Mr. Sheil, in closing his speech, comprises in a few words the entire course, which the Catholics subsequently pursued. "The object of this body was, and is Catholic emancipation; that object is, in my judgment, already obtained. Nothing except our own imprudence can now defeat it. The end being achieved, wherefore should we continue to exist? What are we to do? In a few days an act of parliament will put us down. How is the interval to be expended? In the making of harangues, forsooth—in the delivery of fine fragments of rhetoric, and in proclamations of our own dignity and importance? If the minister acts a false part in our regard, we can readily rally again; but if a fair and equitable adjustment of the question be made, he is an enemy of his country who would perpetuate its divisions.—The course which I recommend is this: Let us determine to dissolve—let us pass a series of resolutions declaratory of our motives for so doing; let us protest against any unnecessary abandonment of the rights of citizens; let us discontinue the collection of the Rent, but preserve the finance committee, in order to pay our debts, and wind up our pecuniary concerns; let its meetings be private, in order that there may be no pretence for alleging that we maintain a shadow of the Association; and let its measures be subject to the revision of an aggregate meeting."—*Speech of Mr. Sheil on the dissolution of the Catholic Association.*

and ardent friends of the Catholics in London, and was the very best refutation which the body could have offered, of the malignant conjectures of their enemies. It furnished a no less just censure on that spirit of narrow-minded diffidence which had suggested the Suppression bill, and told the country in emphatic language, that the Catholics of Ireland did not require to be forced into harmony and unity with their fellow-subjects. The conciliation was not a work of compulsion, but a spontaneous and voluntary act of love. If any thing could exhibit in a favourable contrast the pretensions of the Catholics to those of the government, it was undoubtedly this. It gloriously justified, before all men, the good cause. Every one admitted, they had too much calmness and too much forbearance, not to have been in the right.

Almost contemporaneously with the dissolution of the Association, its co-operating body, the Association or Society of the Friends of Civil and Religious Freedom, by a similar vote dissolved themselves, and in a manner the most flattering deputed two of their body to go down in person and communicate the same to the Association.

The royal assent was given a few days after to the Association Suppression bill, and on the

same evening Mr. Peel brought in the bill for the Relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. The grounds upon which he placed it, were totally different from those, which had been urged on any former occasion. The equalization of all classes of the empire, the extension to all the rights and eligibilities, to which all had an equal title, was the noble and philosophic basis upon which the new Magna Charta was to repose. The exceptions specified by the bill, were such as arose out of the nature of our civil and ecclesiastical institutions, and were very distinct indeed from that penal and exclusive principle, which had hitherto regulated the legislation of the country. Securities were attached to these concessions, in perhaps too narrow and unconfiding a spirit; neither does it appear what species of security such conditions could well afford. The Elective Franchise Regulation bill, the suppression of religious orders, and the regulations of the appellations and titles of the Catholic clergy, either have no connexion with the security of the Protestant establishments of the empire, or are such as must prove, if relied on, a very feeble guarantee indeed. The Oath, which still retains too much of the character of a test, is a more powerful instrument, but its efficacy must again depend much more on the

interpretation, which may in practice be given to it, by the persons who impose and the persons who take it, than upon the oath itself. But it is not thence to be inferred that the Protestant church was more exposed. There were far better securities for its protection, than what ministers could devise, or acts of parliament assure. There was that power resident in the intrinsic majority, in the superior wealth, numbers, and civilization of the Protestant portion of the community, which of itself must necessarily render futile every attack, and the conviction of which in the mind of all classes, must always go far to produce an habitual spirit of temperance and moderation. Yet even this conviction was less efficacious, than the general satisfaction which it was natural to expect from the measure itself. In the national tranquillity, in the peace and smoothness of all the political and social relations, attaining at last that just level to which they had been so long ascending, there was a pledge of future repose, far more permanent and certain, than any that could be attained by the operations of mere force. These considerations no doubt presented themselves to ministers, and if they adopted measures which evinced a want of confidence in their truth, it is to be attributed not so much to any real mistrust, as to the ne-

cessity, in which they found themselves placed of conciliating fools with follies, and of tempering with the appearance of sacrifice the prejudices of well-meaning ignorance, and the interests and passions of a large and divided empire.

That they had great and numerous difficulties to contend with, there can now be little doubt—not difficulties originating from the dissatisfaction, or opposition of the English people, not difficulties arising from the wealth, influence, mind, or character, arrayed against them, but such difficulties as are not always in the reach of the first intellect and the purest principles to control. The ear of royalty was exposed at all hours to the insidious whisperings of evil counsel; rumours the most injurious to the steadiness and honour of the Sovereign, to the relation in which he then stood to his people, to the rank which he held amongst the princes of Europe, were industriously bruited abroad: it was reported, even long after the royal speech had been pronounced, that there were hours of wavering and intervals of dissatisfaction, sudden misgivings, unwise suspicions in the royal breast; as if the Monarch of these realms could thus withdraw, without a sacrifice of every principle, his plighted word to the country, and turn back

alarmed by the malignities or menaces of any body or individual, from the broad course of justice and policy, which he had prescribed to himself. In the Commons the question was carried by a very considerable majority: this was anticipated: no strong impression seems to have been made on public opinion by the event. It was still hoped by the exclusionists that the majority in the Lords would be so trifling, as to justify the assertion so frequently put forward, that the great mass of the nation, both aristocracy and people, were decidedly against the measure, and that no other house than a Canning's House of Commons would have dared to pass it. It was still hoped a dissolution of parliament might be forced by circumstances upon ministers, and the King's mind might be roused by the dissent of his people. The majority of one hundred and five in the Lords, on the second reading of the bill, put the matter beyond doubt. It passed through the Committee without an amendment, and on the 13th of April, amidst the benedictions of a grateful people, and without the slightest demonstration of popular tumult, on the part of its opponents, it received the ROYAL ASSENT.

Thus terminated, after a struggle of more than half a century, a noble cause, founded, like the

abolition of the slave trade, on the principles of the simplest justice, and supported in its progress, by all that was splendid in intellect, or elevated in character, in this great empire. To the last moment that it was at all practicable, opposition to these just claims had been continued. No appeal to justice or humanity, no assertion of solemn treaty, no vindication from infamous calumny, no continuance of unimpeachable conduct, had availed. Ireland was not yet known, and was despised. All information of her wants came through partial channels. It was not then by sleep, and by apathy, and by acquiescence, and by dutiful behaviour, that she obtained her legitimate station and her ancient birthright; but it was—and let nations listen to it and learn, for it is a great and instructive lesson to those who still sit in bondage,—it was by the unceasing importunity at the debtor's gate, by the outstretched and firm arm in demand of natural rights—by the untiring clamour for redress—by the determined resolve—never, never to lie down in patient slavery, whatever might ensue; it was by this that she acquired her freedom, and it was by this that she deserved to acquire it. This singleness and steadiness of purpose in a legitimate struggle, has been spell sufficient to work greater miracles.

To the gradual developement of such sacred convictions in the national heart, America owes her independence; and with all obstacles to contend against, in herself, and in her allies, Greece shall yet owe hers. Once kindled, neither years nor men can extinguish it. Her enemies may be powerful, and united, and persevering—her friends feeble, faithless, and indolent—a just cause and a firm will are match sufficient against them all. In the late long battle, many there were, who fixed their eyes more on the combatants, than on the noble end for which they combated, and measuring both by such an estimate, the chance of success appeared weak and distant. These were narrow views: as if in this man, or in that man were bound up, the destinies of a great country. Washington did not make America—but America made Washington. “If Philip be dead,” says the Athenian orator, “your errors will soon raise you up another Philip.” So was it with Ireland: events, and the public wrongs, would never have left her without tongues of fire, and arms of iron, to speak, and to act, for her. But this, and higher resources would have been useless, had not a sage and judicious policy presided over its management. In political struggles, what is not useful must be injurious; and no stray application of the moral

means vested in the country, could have been merely indifferent. It is in this point of view, an inquiry into the machinery of the Association will afford to all classes of a free country, the most important instruction. It is true, indeed, that the application, to Catholic purposes, is for the future rendered unnecessary. But, in a state like ours—founded at an early period of European civilization, and retaining still, in its present improvement, much of the ancient clumsiness and imperfection of all early institutions—it is only natural, that there should be a constant struggle going on towards amelioration. There will be in some part or other of the body efforts to throw off the old vices of the system, continually appearing on the surface of society; and it is a matter of some moment to the wellbeing of the entire political body, that they should be subjected to a wise control. The reader, who has followed the preceding narrative with attention, will have caught some clue to this mystery. He will have seen, that the Catholic Association began from very humble means, and grew up at last into a body, capable, even on the averment of a cabinet minister himself, in despite of lord lieutenant, and parliament, and sovereign, of shaking from its basis the steadiest institutions of the empire. This progress, when com-

pared at long intervals, will appear marvellous. The two extremes of the chain will seem out of all proportion; but when each link is carefully examined, when the eye follows calmly on from one to the other, the miracle will re-enter into the ordinary course of nature, and the connexion between intermediate cause and effect—each effect in its turn becoming cause—will become instantly conspicuous. Individual spirit, excited by personal injuries and insults—these insults and injuries but exemplifications of the general system—were the first causes of the awakening of the country. All the obstacles which usually hang about commencements,—puny jealousies,—concealed hatreds,—base envies,—narrow views,—the little passions and wretched interests of little men, disgraced, or impeded, or opposed its progress. The leaders of that day were in advance of the country, and were obliged to submit to the tedious and ungrateful task, of *gradually* illuminating the people. But they had their consolations too; they had cheerful and intelligent co-labourers, as they proceeded, and the noble work advanced. The disasters of their country occasionally assisted, and did more for them, and the success of their cause, than all the persuasions of truth or justice. Their shackles were loosened: they took ad-

vantage of the relaxation; they soon found out that what they had obtained, could effectually be employed to obtain more. By degrees, the habit of subduing, taught them to subdue. The spirit spread, from a knot to a class, from a class to the country. Excitation shot round in every direction, through the system. Many reasoned, and every one felt. New roads, shorter and more effective means, were discovered to the common end. Ingenuity was sharpened by distress: the national mind was bent upon only one object—the invention and practice of every mode of political attack. Anarchy was in some degree organised in the country: war was forced into unnatural combination with peace. There is no instance in history of a country standing for a series of years in a state so closely bordering on revolution. The fever was made chronic. All parts of the system were affected by its influence. Nothing was wholesome, or natural, or steady, or profitable, in the state; institutions which, in the neighbouring country, were dispensers of fruitful blessing to all within their reach, transplanted here, threw out the rankness of the soil, and were shunned, and hated as curses. The English constitution was known only by its vices, and England by her oppressions. All these were great evils; but these evils became a good.

They were the stern steel, and the deadly weapon, which an indignant people used, and had a right to use, against their taskmasters. The duties of government became as much a pain and penalty to the governors as to the governed. This was well ; for despotism has no right to enjoy tranquillity, nor injustice to taste the sweets of doing good. For a considerable time, these obstacles were not noticed. They came separately, and at intervals. The Catholics had not yet thought of a general attack : a few skirmishes amongst the outposts were the only encounters ; the superior discipline, the more compact character of their adversaries' tactics, proved for them more than a match ; they were easily repulsed : their losses were magnified into a general defeat : defeated, they were scorned, despised, and treated as turbulent but irredeemable slaves. This was the spirit in reference to the Catholics of most of the administrations before the concessions of 1793, and continued to be the spirit of many administrations after. What was then granted, was a mere God-send—a patched-up expedient to stop a rushing torrent ; it was not the Irish legislature, but the giant of the French revolution, who came, saw, and conquered for the Catholics. The wisdom or generosity of the Protestants had nothing to say to

the matter. It was the surrender of reluctant fear. The bill itself is a flagrant anomaly; it bears every where, the visible imprint of force and hurry. They knew not where to begin, nor where to end. At the time, they would have given any thing, and every thing. "The Moor was at the gate,"—they were indebted for what they retained to the stupid moderation and habitual servility of their antagonists—not to themselves. The Catholics had not even the courage to receive, much less to extort. The panic passed, and the rebellion of 1798 once more gave back to the Orange Protestants that ascendancy which they were on the point of losing. It was in paroxysms of this kind that Ireland had always lost, what in her better moments, through toil, and time, and danger, she had been enabled to gain. Here was a great lesson, and it was at last understood. Brute force was at length discarded; it was estimated in precisely the manner in which it should. In governments, where opinion has any sway, and knowledge can at all be circulated, it must be a very extraordinary contingency which will render it necessary. In despotisms, the governor cannot come at the opinion of the governed; in this, as in so many other particulars, free governments have singularly the advantage; the strictest espionage in

the world is not for an instant to be put in comparison with their free press; there is nothing to detect, where every one is willing to confess; nothing to unravel, where every thing is thrown clearly and even ostentatiously on the surface. Not so in despotisms; there every thing is obscurity, mystery, suspicion, fear: the jealousies of both ruler and subject lead to mutual mistakes: the people can never be known to the prince, nor the prince to the people. Revolutions are nearly matured in the public mind before the public is aware of them, and it is often the most insignificant incident which leads to the great and general convulsion, which decides all. A despotic sovereign walks constantly on a species of solfatara; it is often a mere shell which divides him from the fires below. Hence despotic governments are subject to the rudest and most unexpected changes; brute force is almost their only instrument of reform; the battle of their rights is decided, not in the senate or the cabinet, but in the open field. But the institutions of England usually protect her from such evils: the minister yields uniformly to a truly national sentiment, for the moment it becomes truly national, it becomes impossible for a minister to resist it: the man who should make the attempt would soon cease to be a mi-

nister. The object then of all political reformers in such a state should be to attain this end—to make their opinions the opinions of the country ; this done, rebellion is unnecessary, the revolution naturally and peacefully succeeds. It was a very considerable time before the Catholic leaders seemed fully to be impressed with these truths, or to speak more correctly, it was not until events suggested the system, and experience confirmed its utility, that it began to be enforced. The progress was at first slow ; all the old prejudices of hereditary and national superiority still survived : the project of gradually converting the hostility of so large a portion of the community into support, of communicating to the ignorant knowledge, to the blind sight, seemed as doubtful as the chances of open warfare. The war of reason upon “ chaos and old night,” was marked in its outset, by as many diversities and disappointments, as the contests of the field. The petitions of the oppressed were rejected—their complaints scoffed at—their wrongs denied—their misfortunes made subject of triumph and jeer. But discussion still went on, and produced its slow but inevitable results. Every defeat brought them nearer to the certain though distant victory. The Catholics at last threw off all their ancient apathy ;

through alternations of fear and hope, they at last attained that state of fixed and correct resolve which was the immediate forerunner of final success. Education came forward as their ally. Their voice found by degrees echoes in every circle. One interest and then another was enlisted in their ranks. Speculative and visionary objections vanished before the realities, stern and absolute, of common life. Finance, agriculture, commerce, literature, were all made, more or less, part and parcel of the Catholic Question. It was a long time before its opponents would consent to see the change ; but its importance or progress did not depend upon their seeing it. The light advances in despite of the blind. Even the very quarrels of the Catholics themselves, censured as they were, were often productive of advantage. They eliminated the doubtful ; they rejected the cowardly ; they tried the faithful ; they confirmed the strong. New truths were struck forth by the collision ; a greater clearness and decision were given to their movements ; a more perfect accord was produced amongst all classes of their body. Their adversaries had not made the same progress, and remained scattered and undivided. The government still attempted to conduct affairs on old principles, as if every thing

around them was not new. But the peace of 1815 had produced on the intellect of the country the same effect as on its commerce : a larger communication with the neighbouring states had introduced greater circulation of mind, greater freedom of thought and speech. A new alliance was formed between the Catholics and public opinion in every part of Europe. The contest was no longer between two factions. It became a grand and magnificent struggle between two principles, carried on at the same time with varied success in every other part of the world. It was not to decide whether merely the Catholic should be free, but whether in a free state there should not be recognised a regenerating power, capable of correcting ancient abuse, and of throwing off when necessary, in the progress of civilization, the slough and vice of its early corruptions. It was to establish the right of a people to interfere in the management of their own happiness ; it was to mark more distinctly the privileges and power of popular opinion ; it was to give a new Magna Charta, consonant to the lights of the age, to every class of citizen, applicable to every purpose of national reform, and capable of working every species of national good. That this will be the operation of the great measure, no rational

man can now doubt; if it were less than this, it was scarcely worth the expense and time of the struggle. Every Catholic, it is true, was not equally imbued with this conviction, but it was not necessary he should. Immediate and personal injury is a better stimulant than any thing else; and while every Catholic had within himself so many stimulants of the kind, it would be an absurd act of supererogation to seek for additional motive for excitement from without. The activity of the penal code, the habits of oppression which it had introduced into all portions of the country, kept him constantly in a state of corresponding violence. Agitation existed every where—penetrated every where—became the mode and manner of existence of the whole community. It was now only necessary to give it a more precise and effective direction. This was done by Organization.

The first attempts were but a series of experiments. Many omissions and many blunders taught the Catholics at last the road to success. The Catholic Association, the Catholic Rent Committees, the Parochial Meetings, the Liberal Club system, were only progressive steps in the attainment of the great final object—the most expeditious, the safest, and surest machinery, to call into regular action the powers, physical

and moral, by which they were to work their cause. The press and emigration extended to other countries a parallel organization. The Catholic Association was a confederacy, which had a thousand arms. At the period of its dissolution, upwards of fourteen thousand members, qualified to vote at its sittings, had enrolled themselves in this great national convention. Amongst its members were included one thousand four hundred non-Catholics, four Catholic archbishops, twenty Catholic bishops, and two thousand six hundred Catholic clergymen. That such a state of things could continue exactly at the point to which it was brought, without exciting a corresponding confederacy amongst their adversaries, was totally impossible. The Brunswick club system arose; it was an obvious and natural consequence of the Catholic Association, and ought to have excited little astonishment in any party: the government itself must have long expected the reaction. The partisan politicians of both sides imagined indeed that the government had originated it. But the time had gone by for the Machiavellian policy, practised with such miserable success by their predecessors. The government, in order to avoid being crushed between both parties, in good time decided on legislating between both. What the government

meditated, had long been the anxious desire and aspiration of all that was moderate and rational in the country. It was quite a mistake to suppose, that any portion of the Protestant community, really influential, was opposed to Catholic concession upon any reasonable terms. Even the Brunswick leaders avowed, in their more confidential communications with persons who had an extensive knowledge of each party, that the object they had in view was mistaken ; that they merely united to prevent dictation from the Catholics ; but that they were not opposed to such concessions as they considered the Duke of Wellington was likely to submit to parliament with the approbation or consent of his Majesty. Many of the Catholics, on the other side, viewed with alarm and regret the present state of excitement in the country. They were fully alive to the imminent danger which inevitably attended an appeal to popular passions ; but it would have been imbecility on their part, and not that wise moderation which consists in a just estimate of the ends and the means, to surrender the hold which they had obtained upon the public mind, and the power which resulted from that hold—the combination and concentration of their body, until their legitimate expectations had been satisfied by the legislature. But between these

two parties, a third was gradually formed by the force of circumstances and the violence of the two extremes, which immediately led to a mediation, and a compromise. The Ultras on either side would never have been able to have come into contact. Unconditional Emancipation on the one side, and No Surrender on the other, if as strictly adhered to as they were boldly announced, would have led to nothing. There would have been no umpire to decide the quarrel—there would have been no appeal but to open force. Yet neither Catholics nor anti-Catholics acted injudiciously. It is only by taking opposite extremes that we can hope for terms. Had the Catholics shown less vehemence in spurning conditions, they would probably have had a bill full of shackles, and exceptions, and qualifications—a Veto bill, a half-emancipation bill—another bill of 1793. Had the anti-Catholics rejected with less vigour all suggestions of concession, they would probably have had no securities at all. There never was better chance of emancipation, than when these extremes were most opposed, and the opposition loudest. Even the Marquess of Anglesey considered his recall as the immediate harbinger of emancipation. A measure so exciting, could not have been ventured on, un-

less an anodyne, a calmant, was in reserve. Government had already made up its mind ; it remained only to carry its intentions into execution. To effect this, the very circumstances which appeared to offer the greatest obstacles, were the most favourable. A constitutional force, an intermediate force, had been generated in Ireland. It gave evidence of its existence by a distinct and decided act. The Protestant declaration was a treaty of alliance with the cabinet, for the great purpose of national pacification. The government found that in Ireland the quarrel was no longer a Catholic and Protestant quarrel, but a battle of enlightened and just principle against obstinate adhesion to old and interested prejudice. They reposed with confidence on this party, and for the first time judged with true impartiality between them and their opponents. Then came in rear the whole numerical strength, the great physical mass of the nation. With such odds it was no longer a matter of doubt which should prevail. The nation, truly such, contended against a declining faction. Truth and power fought on one side, weakness and error on the other.

In England, the public mind seemed more divided, and it was this division which gave a false semblance of activity, and illusive hopes of

success, to the anti-Catholic faction at the other side of the water. But the result has proved that they were as little acquainted with the workings of English parties, as English parties are with theirs. The prime movers in the business made use of the cause, as a weapon only to avenge old animosities, or recent pique. They could easily bear to be converted with decorum; but there was no forgiveness for a minister who had not called them into his councils, or allowed them little more than a week or two for their political illumination. Yet it is unquestionable that this very communication of the project would have defeated it. Every one would have come forward with his condition and security. Self-love, and false pretension, would have every-where attempted to usurp and intrude. Every one would have claimed a share in the merit of pushing forward the inevitable measure. The Duke wisely avoided all this, by descending upon them in the fulness of his matured plans. A little awkwardness was, no doubt, produced by so *coup-de-main* a manner of arranging the business, amongst the old hack-nied spaniels of government; and men who believed in the steadiness of statesmen, were somewhat astounded at the impromptu liberality of a few of the veterans in bigotry; but the nation

at large cared little for them or their opinions. The intellect and wealth of England—Ireland in mass—had declared for the question. Government observed—saw—judged wisely—and followed the country. The dependents of government, in their turn, followed the government:—this was their trade, and they merited neither greater censure nor greater praise than any other of the same trade who had preceded them. As to the great body of the people, most of them had no opinions at all: where there was any such thing as opinion, it was favourable. Towns decide political revolutions: they are the thermometers by which statesmen ought to judge of public feeling. It is natural and right it should be so. Superior civilization ought to be the regulator of social and civil institutions. There is no comparison between the civilization of the country and the town. The towns then were decidedly and naturally in favour of Catholic emancipation: the levies of the country were, after all, but levies of the Church; they were good evidences of the opinions of the Church; but to take them as true expressions of the opinions of the nation, would be preposterous. With the opinions of what should really be considered the people of England, they had little or nothing to do.

Agitation, producing a constant and habitual discontent—organization, reducing this to system—both terminating in such a state of things in Ireland, as to leave scarcely any interval between them and an open rupture ; every individual taking up his party ; every social institution in the state embarrassed or perverted ; the two religions, the two nations, into which the country had split, with uplifted arms ready to strike the blow,—every expedient exhausted, and exhausted in vain, to defer the advancing encounter ; these were the great impelling causes which acted at home ; but the action of external causes was scarcely less powerful and conspicuous. The whole civilised world seemed gradually closing round, to witness the coming conflict. Such witnesses could not long abstain, under so many exciting circumstances, from becoming allies, and from allies, participators in the contest. To repel the enormous evil, the means of the English government were altogether inadequate. The finances were sinking under a series of revolutions—violent and unexpected—arising from the anomalies in the currency, the free-trade, and the corn questions : public opinion was evincing more and more every day the sense of its own strength : recurrence to brute force was becoming more inevitable every hour. In such a

struggle, so rude, and so sudden, it may well be doubted, whether any modern minister could possibly be successful. What had they to check it? The army: but the army, since 1815, had become an army of citizens; it could not be relied on as a mere passive instrument. Recruited principally from Ireland, it was more than half Irish, more than half Papist. In an Irish Catholic war, such a weapon would at once have snapt asunder.* The Duke of Wellington knew

Dublin, June 13, 1829.

* A most serious affray between the rifle brigade of the 60th regiment and the 36th regiment has taken place in Limerick. The quarrel originated in a dispute about O'Connell and the Clare election. The 36th declared for O'Connell; and after a furious contest in the streets of Limerick, in which much blood was spilt, and it is apprehended some lives lost, the 36th were declared the victors. The war cry of the 60th was, "Bloody Papists!" of the 36th, "O'Connell for ever!" You will see contradictory accounts of this affray in the Limerick papers, but they concur in stating that a man belonging to the 60th was the original assailant; and it has been mentioned, I know not with what truth, that notwithstanding the *esprit de corps* prevalent in the army, a number of the 60th, who are Catholics, refused to join their companions. This is one of the consequences of the policy which decided on another Clare election. A moiety of the soldiers, indeed, I have heard three-fourths, now in Ireland, are Catholics, and Irishmen. Even the greater part of the Highland regiments, it is well known, belong to this

this, and knew it well ; and knowing it, saw that he had no choice. He was stronger than all opposition which could be offered him ; he spoke with the voice of a master : he did rather than spoke ; but there was a still stronger, a more powerful master, a mightier mover, than any minister. It was not the Duke of Wellington who originated the measure, it was the stern voice and the iron hand of uncontrollable Necessity.

Yet to *see* this necessity in due time was wisdom : to know how to *obey* it with dignity and advantage, was public virtue. The people themselves, their energy, their unanimity, their perseverance, created it ; but the minister wielded it ; the minister saw and seized—saw in time and seized with judgment, the important lessons which it pointed out. Another would have

country. They have manifestly been inoculated with the feelings of those among whom they live, and from whom they were taken ; they experience the disorder of that enthusiasm with which the political atmosphere of this country, and particularly of the South, is at this moment charged. I repeat it—if such occurrences as those of Limerick and Carrick-on-Suir (where the very esteemed vicar, Mr. Grady, lost his life) had taken place before the Relief bill passed, consequences might have followed which a man of the stoutest nerve might shudder to contemplate.—*Times*, June 23d, 1829.

sealed his eyes to the signs of the times, and called the blindness reason, and the obstinacy firmness. Lord Wellington acted otherwise : he did not affect to be wiser than the wisest, nor stronger than the strongest before him. Nor was Ireland, in such a crisis, scarcely less indebted to him than to herself ; it was necessary to have such a man at the head of the government to answer her appeal. Exceptions perhaps may be taken to the mode in which the measure was brought forward ; none are justly applicable to the measure itself. It may be true that the minister, in his anxiety for success, had somewhat outstepped at times the strict limits of constitutional freedom ;—a high tone, and a determined arm, may have been too ostentatiously displayed in the course of these angry proceedings : but it is not for men, who undertook the defence of such acts as those, upon which the exclusive code was founded, to complain. The Duke had to act with promptitude, or submit to be defeated by a wily and vigilant faction. Not the country, but they, it was, who were taken by surprise. Time, in such cases, is half the battle ; next to secrecy, it is the great instrument of victory. He employed against the conspiracy (for it scarcely deserves a nobler or gentler name)

the same weapons which the conspiracy had employed so often against himself and against others. Another policy, less decisive, less instant, less vigorous, might unquestionably have deferred the wished-for consummation, but it could not have prevented it: it would have only changed its character; it would have baptised it in blood. This was the difference between the policy of Lord Eldon and of Lord Wellington. Both would ultimately perhaps have terminated in the same point; but the road by which they would have arrived at such conclusion, would have been different indeed. No one can disguise from himself, that the constitution of 1688 has been seriously altered; but few are so mad, except for the purposes of temporary argument, as to assert, that constitutions, more than any thing else human, are to continue unaltered and unalterable. The only point seems to be, how such alterations are to be brought about in the most gradual and kindest manner, with the most general satisfaction, at the least possible risk, and for the greatest share of public benefit. Lord Wellington is for "legislation," but Lord Eldon for the "wager by battle." Posterity will judge between them.

Such then has been the history of the past—

the experiment has been at last fairly and fully tried ; we are now called on to witness the results ; to judge of the hopes and prospects of the future. New relations have been created by this great revolution ; new duties have risen up with them. It is right we should be enabled to understand and appreciate both. Most of the prophecies put forward with confidence at various periods of this eventful discussion, are already in a rapid process of realization. They were founded in a common-sense view of human nature ; in a just conception of the motives of human action ; in a correct application to present things, of the experience of by-gone history. The cessation of the principle of commotion has been, in itself, peace. The opposite armies have been disembodied, the camp is broken up, the ranks have been allowed to mix with each other. With the exception of a few factious traffickers on public passions, both parties, mutually fatigued, are only anxious for repose. Allowed to approach each other for the first time, both are at length beginning to perceive qualities which had escaped them in the distance. Mutual acquaintance is beginning to produce mutual confidence and esteem. All classes have benefited. The Irish Protestant is allowed to leave his citadel, to wander beyond

his fortifications; the besieged join in the same rejoicings with the besiegers. The sovereign rests in the security of contented hearts;—the subject has other motives than the fictions of law for his loyalty; he is about to enjoy a happiness to which hitherto he had been a stranger, and will be attached to the state which shall confer it. His attachment to the state, in a well-ordered government, involves necessarily his attachment to the sovereign. The public attention will no longer be frittered away in side experiments; the art of governing will no longer be the art of a charlatan, the discovery and application of palliatives. National occupations begin at length to claim the national spirit and the national industry. Time and means are given for public exertion. Every where there are symptoms of the departure of ancient evil; ere long there will be indications of the arrival of expected good. This is much, but it is not to be pretended that it is all. It would be strange indeed, if an act of parliament had that magic in it, which in an instant could exorcise the evil spirit which had so long sat in undisputed mastery over the body of the state. The charm, no doubt, is strong; but its working must necessarily be slow: centuries were requisite to form these habits—months cannot take them away. The old—and

let it also be remembered, the defeated, opponents of the measure, will naturally seek for some consolation to their wounded pride in every slight ebullition of popular feeling, which may chance to survive the contest.* But they mistake coincidences for causes. These are ra-

* The late riots in some parts of the South of Ireland, so far from being arguments against the policy of concession, are the strongest confirmations of its wisdom and necessity. In Limerick and Carrick-on-Suir, they originated from those very elements of religious division, as we have already noticed, which it had been the first object of the late measure to extinguish and repress. In Tipperary there are symptoms of the reappearance of those old family factions, the Dwyers, the Nashes, &c., relics of the turbulence of former times, which were momentarily checked by the great absorbing interest of the Catholic question, but more especially by the active interference, the judicious counsel, the commanding influence of the late Catholic Association. The withdrawal, sudden and entire, as it has been, of this great moral force, has of course allowed the old forces, to which it was opposed, to revert for a time to their ancient position. Such occasional agitation in the system must for some time longer continue to endure, until a new power of repression shall be generated in the country instead of the old; that is, until the equal and impartial and vigorous distribution of justice shall have inspired a proper reverence for the laws, and made appeals to the tribunals of the country more frequent than the recurrence to those physical means of defence or retaliation, by which all quarrels between man and man have hitherto been adjusted.

ther the last relics of ancient feuds, than the commencements of new ones. It would be just as reasonable to take the tumblings of the sea, after the storm had subsided, for the storm itself. The swell and roll must continue to be felt for some time longer in the public mind :—the tempest which produced them, it must be remembered, endured for centuries. New attractions, and new repellants, will by degrees scatter into new forms all those elements of disturbance. Time itself, and all the usual workings of the political system, will do more for this desirable result than any acts of parliament. The legislature ought to follow in the track of public necessities, rather than seek over-rashly to divine them. One of our most inveterate national maladies is, an extravagant passion for over-legislation. We are fond of codification, as mere experiment, and provided our blunders stand tolerably well during the interval of two sessions, we sit down satisfied that our work of “good counsel” is fully done. But in treating such a convalescent as Ireland, rescued with so much difficulty, recovering so slowly, all political empiricism should for ever be at an end. Ireland, for a short time, ought to be left to rest, and to herself. She is *in transitu* to a new state of society. It is idle to make laws for a position of

things, which, when the law is made, may have already passed away. It is not action, but thinking, which we require. Dispassionate and painful inquiry, and not dogmatism, and not self-sufficiency, and not precipitancy, is now the duty of the public man. Let facts—cleared from the ancient colouring of sectarianism—let facts and not theories, be collected :—let them be contrasted, and proved, and weighed, one against the other—let them be tried by the touchstone of general utility. *Then* act, if so you will—but not till then. On such foundations the superstructure will endure. All others are mere frost-work—attempts at improvement,—the old Penelope web of Irish civilization—doing laboriously to-day, what must be undone with still more labour to-morrow ; and wasting years and money, and men and mind, in nothings—giving to posterity the same record of indolence or imbecility, which we received from our ancestors ;—and keeping Ireland the by-word amongst nations, which she so long has been, for arrogant pretensions and impotent conclusions—for doing little, and talking overmuch.

It cannot be concealed, however,—and to the philosophic and calm observer it is surely a matter of deep regret—that the very hands which conferred the blessing, should have gone so far

to mar and delay its effects. There was an air indeed of "unwilling willingness" from the outset about the giving, which not a little detracted from the value of the gift. But this was to be attributed more to the circumstances, than to the men. Latterly—I speak of the exclusion of Mr. O'Connell from the Commons House of Parliament—they have claim perhaps to much less indulgence. The men and their passions have unfortunately appeared to have had more to do with the matter, than the irresistible force of circumstances. This is a calamity. It has left, what Mr. Peel so much wished to avoid, a Catholic question behind. The "*uno avulso non deficit alter*," the growing up of new complaint on the removal of the old, the constant allegation of the enemy, has been half justified. That all this troubling of the waters afresh will soon pass away, like the far more terrible convulsions of the elements which had preceded it, I have little doubt; but it appears a supererogatory predilection for popular excitation, to have afforded even the slightest opportunity for troubling them at all. The virtue of the panacea has begun already to be doubted, and this doubt is akin to a denial of its benefits;—suspicion soon becomes certainty in the mind of the multitude, and such a certainty once prevalent in the coun-

try, the Relief bill might as well not have been passed. It ought to have been an object with ministers to have done what they undertook to do, *perfectly* and *finally*. Clare has again evoked the exorcised spirit of the Catholic Association ; and Mr. O'Connell, who would have soon melted into a simple British citizen, has been forced back to his old profession of Catholic agitator.*

* It was originally, it seems, Mr. O'Connell's anxious desire to avoid a recurrence to those scenes and recollections of civil discord, which it was the chief object of the Relief bill for ever to suppress. His whole conduct in London, during the discussions in either house, was temperate and conciliating. His most judicious course at that time would have been, to have resigned the representation of the county of Clare (if in accord with the wish of his constituents), and to have re-entered the house at a later period, when all differences on the subject were set at rest. It is true indeed that such a course would not have redeemed the pledge he had given to the country ; but it would have been a matter worth the consideration of a judicious politician, and a true lover of his country, whether all personal feeling should not have ceded at such a moment, to the paramount interests of every class in the community. The object which the electors of Clare had principally in view was, the final adjustment of the Catholic claims : this object was triumphantly attained ; it was no longer necessary to cling with unwise pertinacity to the means. But Mr. O'Connell seems to have been led into considerable error, by the conduct of the ministers themselves. All along he appears to have believed that his case would have been supported by their advocacy, or at least

Of the actually accompanying measures I have already spoken. The Suppression Association

connivance, in both houses. For this impression he had some grounds. The ministers stood in a most doubtful position. They had been obliged to make a sacrifice (many said unwillingly) to prejudices still existing in a high quarter. When the discussion was over, it was hoped that all decided hostility, in the mind of an illustrious personage would have quietly passed away. The case was otherwise. Ministers were compelled to persevere : it was notorious that the Premier had expressed himself favourably to Mr. O'Connell's right ; but under the circumstances, it is not easy to say how far he was at liberty to act up to this conviction. The error (to give it much too soft a name) does not rest with him. Mr. O'Connell, disappointed and mortified at what he construed into an act of premeditated treachery, and humiliated at having been in appearance the dupe of promises and professions, threw himself once more upon the country. This was now unavoidable : the fault did not lie with Mr. O'Connell ; the government had rendered it necessary. But Mr. O'Connell might have acted the part, with infinitely more dignity and judgment. There was no need of reverting to the old topics of popular excitation : Brunswicker and Papist should for ever have been expunged from his vocabulary. The man who took the hand of Cobbett, ought to have known how to forgive, when forgiveness would not have been a disgrace, but a virtue. Mr. O'Connell ought to aim at nobler game, than to be the applauded of a party. The country, through all its sects and classes, claims his talents. He ought not to have rendered them, as far as possible, suspected, or useless. —This after all is the chief point.—Has Mr. O'Connell attended to it ?

bill has operated probably in the precise manner in which it was intended. It was a harmless pains and penalty enactment, swept to oblivion almost in the moment of its birth—an “imbelle telum sine ictu”—a Congreve rocket shot idly into the air. The same may be said, as I have already remarked, of the “securities” embodied in the bill itself. Some clamour and anxiety were shown at the time about these absurdities; but both minister and people have agreed to laugh at them now.* Not so with the Disfranchisement Forty-shilling Freehold bill. This “Regulation

* There are not more than three professed Jesuits in Ireland, and one in England. Was it worth the while to legislate against them? A Jesuit becomes professed, by taking certain vows, which vows are received by *one* person only, and with closed doors. How is the fact to be proved? Is a Jesuit to accuse a Jesuit? or is there to be an ecclesiastical inquisition established to inquire into the fact? Colonel Sibthorpe made loud complaints against the continued assumption of titles, &c. by the Catholic dignitaries. Mr. Peel answered with a smile. He knew well that the Catholic bishops themselves cautiously abstained from such assumption. If others give them these appellations, they resign themselves to the honour with what patience they can. Blucher, in concurrence with the restored Bourbons, ordered that the Pont Jena should change name. The court obeyed, but the hackney-coachmen, the porters, &c., and others whom it more concerned than the court, still call it by its old name of the Pont Jena.

bill," as it is called, will yet form a fertile source of irregularity and innovation in the constitutional law of the country. It is the first principle of a new reform code. Parliamentary regeneration will spring out of the spoliation; out of evil, will yet come good. It was originally meant, I believe, to be a peace-offering to the irritated and deserted genius of Protestant Ascendancy—a sacrifice of Catholicism to Protestantism—of the priests and their influence, to the parsons and their influence, and so on. It has turned out to be much more: counties have become boroughs, and the constituency a corporation. These consequences were not altogether unforeseen. The supporters of popular rights were warned in due time, but the bill was suffered to pass on. It has since become a matter of question, whether its supporters acted right or wrong—whether they were traitors to the country, or patriots. The doubt may be easily decided. Surrendered it certainly was, but as a great price for a greater good, by the Whigs—but by the Tories, it was demanded as a *quid pro quo*, a make-weight in the great account, in return for relinquished privileges:—by the same Tories too, be it remembered, who, when this very measure had formerly been coupled with emancipation, had rejected it, with an

affected devotion to popular rights,—out of mere love and affection, as they averred, to the democratic portion of our constitution. But the question of 1825, and the question of 1829, were two different questions. The contest was no longer between relief and non-relief—but between peace and war. The delay of a session might have proved fatal: it might have amounted to the rejection of all conciliatory adjustment for ever. The lover of his country had to decide, whether he would give up a portion of its franchises,—or whether he would put to risk—all.

The bill in Ireland has so far worked very nearly in the manner that was expected. Few notices have been sent in; of those few, not more than one-third, and in some places not more than one-fifth have been accepted. Due information should have been procured of the probable number of forty-shilling freeholders who could register a ten-pound freehold, before the qualification should have been raised so high, and so sweeping a privation of actually-vested franchises have been attempted. It was not to be imagined that Ireland, under the endurance of so many political evils for so long a period of time, should suddenly emerge, on the passing of the bill, into an agricultural and commercial pros-

perity, sufficiently great to qualify any really efficient portion of her population for admission to those important privileges. The question then was, whether such a people should be permitted to vote *at all*—that is, whether a people, who had become impoverished by a series of calamities not within their control, should for the future be precluded all share in the government of their country. As to assimilation to England, and to English franchises, it was mere plea and pretext; and after all, as untrue as it was unjust. The assimilation should begin elsewhere, and not with the elective franchise. The English system is scarcely less vicious than the Irish—far more diversified and anomalous—and ought to be held up rather as an object for correction, than imitation. Neither was there any approximation in the bill itself, either in its principle, or in its details, to the practice or privilege, as it actually exists in England. There is no resemblance between the life-tenure freehold of the Irish, and the fee-simple tenure of the English elector. The abuses, where such existed, have been left untouched; the appearance of abuse has been alone corrected. The law, as it now stands, or rather as it now operates, is a law simply against the poor. Much has been said in favour of its necessity;

but it certainly behoved the supporters of the principle, on which such laws rest, to be less partial in its application. The same poverty, which morally incapacitates an individual from taking a part in the apportioning of the public burdens, ought in no less degree, in common justice, to exempt him from bearing the burdens themselves. The great principle, that taxation and legislation are correlative terms, has too frequently been lost sight of in Ireland. This however is no reason, why it should not be recalled, and practised for the time to come. At the same time, it is by no means meant, that it would be right to revert altogether to the old fictitious constituency : far from it. It had enormous vices—numerous defects. Ireland was constantly oscillating between two extremes. The former system was alternately the expression of the aristocratic influence, and the physical force of the country. Certain alterations were necessary, to steady the balance. Whether they have yet been found, is another question. In towns there will no doubt be gradually generated, by the operation of the late law, a sort of counterbalance to the oligarchical influence in the country. The towns have lately felt the sweets of independence ; the facility of change ; the few local predilections ; the slight and tran-

sient connexion which binds them to their landlords; the comparative ease with which in such places a ten-pound freehold can be obtained, must not only contribute to multiply freeholds in towns, to a far greater extent than in the counties, but must always render them far less liable to be affected by the power or influence of the aristocracy. Yet it will be a very considerable time, indeed, before these effects shall have become conspicuous. In the interval, the constituency is likely for some time to remain in the hands of the gentry and the clergy, with a slight sprinkling of the more comfortable farmers.* If this were any thing but a transitory state, it would be an evil so serious, as almost to amount to a radical change or perversion of the constitution. But there is scarcely a clause in the bill, which does not bear upon it a provisional character. Sooner or later, it must lead

* The aristocracy however have in many counties been the chief sufferers. In the North particularly, where the forty-shilling freeholders more especially abounded, the landed proprietors have been suddenly shorn of all their influence. The Marquess of Conyngham, of two thousand freeholders and upwards, registers now not many more than fifty. In the South, Lord Glengall does not proportionally register quite so many. So it is with many more of the great aristocrats—a balance of good, for the evils in other instances inflicted by the bill.

to a total and decisive revision of the elective code in both countries. Scarcely one intrinsic defect has yet been efficiently corrected; new anomalies and inconsistencies have been introduced; the machinery has become far more complicated; the simplest results have been sought by the most confused means; the vicious method pursued in our other legislation, instead of being corrected, has been adopted with additional defects. No marvel then if we soon shall have to return to patching and repatching, until at last it will be found better to throw the work into the fire, than to go on correcting old blots with new. The age has proclaimed loudly its thirst for improvement. We must follow the age, and its necessities, for we cannot make it follow us. A total change—less feudal, less incongruous, more in analogy with the real principles of a representative government—must sooner or later take place. France has given us lessons, in criminal and civil justice, already. We must not disdain borrowing a suggestion or two more from her constitutional laws. She has discovered the true principle, and practised it with success. To her, with all our pride, in this instance at least, we must go for instruction.*

* The French system reposes on the principle, so generally

Ireland has now thrown open to her a noble perspective. She presents a wide field for every species of legislative improvement. Her agricultural and commercial polity—the education—the comfort of her population—provision for her poor—encouragement of her manufactures—regeneration and amelioration of her system of justice, must sedulously and immediately engage her attention. In all these departments, there

recognised in the English constitution, that taxation should be always accompanied with a proportionate share in the application of the taxation ;—in other words, that all payers to the exigencies of the state should have a proportionate share in its legislation and government : thus the elective franchise is regulated by the rate of public contributions ; in proportion as the contributions increase, the elective franchise increases, that is, becomes more extended—in other words, more popular : it thus furnishes a corrective to over-expenditure, and an instrument and means of retrenchment. One force balances or counteracts the other, like the opposed metal bars in the pendulum of a chronometer. The American system, depending principally on population, is less suited, even to the purposes of a republic ; but in a monarchy, and still more in an aristocracy, no question can exist of the superior advantages of the French. In fact, whatever may be the theories of popular writers on the subject, all legislation, more or less, in practice resolves itself into *supplies*. If this be the business of representation, it stands as a necessary consequence, that the criterion of the elective franchise ought to be the amount and nature of taxation.

must be great and radical changes; in many, every thing is yet to be done. Education must be rendered far more general,* more practical, more applicable to common purposes, in stricter relation with the actual wants and opinions of the labouring classes of the community. The propriety of introducing into Ireland the system of a compulsory provision for the poor has been discussed, but by fits only, and conjecturally. It is fortunate, that want of time prevented our legislators from proceeding farther. It is to be desired, that their crude theories should not assume any positive shape, before there be a state of things somewhat more permanent, both in a political and financial point of view. We must prepare for great changes arising out of the Sub-letting act, Disfranchisement bill, &c.

* For example, there is no reason why the country, in concurrence with the government, should not establish in a central position, Athlone for instance, a second university. The exigencies of Ireland are great; and the Dublin University, though increased within a few years by more than one-third above its former number of students, is altogether inadequate to supply them. Catholics and Protestants, for such objects, should and would unite. To such purposes the old Catholic rent might be advantageously and properly applied—much better, at least, than frittering it away in elections. From the *people* it came, and to the *people* only it ought to return.

&c. superadded to the embarrassments, which we share in common with the rest of the British empire, from the unsettled state of the currency, the free trade, and corn law questions. But a wholesale application of any system, much less the vicious system, still oppressing, with its multitudinous and increasing abuses, every portion of the English community, instead of being the removal of an old grievance, would undoubtedly be the infliction of a new one. If the country, from a certain *mal-aise*, and difficulty generated by defects in her other institutions, cannot do without such stays and supports, let them be, at all events, in accord with the peculiarities, in the habits, character, and actual condition of the people. Let us begin from the beginning ; and, not like the academicians of Laputa, think of building our houses from the roof. Let the necessities and dispositions of the people first suggest ; let these suggestions be tried in limited and occasional experiments, as in Scotland and the North of Ireland ; and if found to work well in detail, let the legislature then generalise the more salutary portions of the system, and give them, as far as may be necessary, the sanction of statute law.*

* The system of Mendicant asylums ought to be taken as

As it is, a very considerable poor tax is at this moment levied in Ireland, in the shape of county cesses for hospitals, dispensaries, &c.; and that too in the mode and manner every way the most objectionable, of the many objectionable modes, still tolerated in this free country. An irresponsible and fugitive body, at their own discretion, assess a large class, but distantly benefited by the taxation, and mix up the raising and alteration of these funds with others, as totally distinct from them, as any of the excise or other duties levied by act of parliament. A poor cess, originating from the people themselves, and continuing under the control of the people, will be regulated by a very different standard—by public necessity and public opinion, and will always meet in both, some

the principle, and the Tithe Composition act as the model, of the machinery. The adoption of the bill should be left at the option of each parish or townland, and should not be extended beyond the period of one or two years. The rate payers should have each a vote, and the management of their concerns should be entrusted to a standing committee, chosen by a general meeting of the voters at the beginning of the year. The nature and extent of the assessment would thus be a matter of local arrangement at the discretion of the meeting of the parish. This plan, with such modifications as circumstances required, might be embodied in a short bill, and not enforced, but left to the choice of the public.

sort of check to the acknowledged tendency which all managements of the kind inherit, to gradual corruption and decay. How far the agricultural and commercial interests of the country require the interposition of parliament to raise them from their actual depression, is a far wider and more difficult theme. They labour, in Ireland, under a different species of disease from what they do in England. In Ireland, properly speaking, there are no manufactures at all, except the manufacture of the soil! Agriculture has no home market, in comparison, to what she ought to have. Ireland is consequently dependent almost exclusively upon her relations with England; and liable to be seriously affected, in addition to her own miseries, by the miseries of her neighbour. Capital has hitherto not been allowed a free circulation; there has been accumulation in some parts of the empire, and want in others: the usual evils of these unnatural restrictions have been experienced: they have produced upon the wholesome action of the body politic effects quite analagous to what are sometimes observed in the human frame. There has been plethory and marasma; a gross but deceitful appearance of health, a dwindling and pining away, side by side; poverty in the bosom of plenty, luxury linked with starvation,

and in all these various shapes, decay, and often death. The Relief bill, in doing away these injurious restraints, has gone far to restore its natural health to the commercial body of the country. Capital is already beginning to find in Ireland its natural level; and though it has not proceeded in a torrent, as some had fondly anticipated, it is not less certain that it is even now in gradual but constant flow. Nor is this delay after all so injurious. Manufactures which come *slowly*, generally come to *stay*. No better pledge can be given of the permanence of an establishment, than the patient and judicious preliminary inquiries of its projectors. Yet with all this, the first projectors of such establishments will be always, more or less, like adventurous navigators, of speculative and daring dispositions; some will succeed, and succeed greatly, but for one success there will of course be many failures; and for a time at least, the country must make up its mind to be subjected to all the excitations and depressions, the various pernicious vicissitudes, of a gamester. But this must pass, and its momentary existence should not discourage, much less repel. These are not symptoms peculiar to Ireland, but the usual demonstration of the same morbid or rather incipient state of improvement, in every country in the world.

Out of such mistakes true knowledge will at last spring : upon this bitter tree of disappointment will at last grow the sweet fruit of victory. To success, we should be well persuaded, with all our national vanity (which is often excessive), there neither now is, nor ever will be a royal road : we must labour up the hill, as every nation worthy of the name has constantly laboured before us ; and do things by degrees, if we wish what we intend to do, should be really and effectively done at all. Sudden bounties, high-sounding subscriptions, levies *en masse* of labourers for public works, and all such grandiloquous and magnificent commencements, may be full of dramatic show and parade, but they end generally where they begin ; they are little better than the army of Caligula setting out with thousands, to gather up a few cockleshells from the ocean. What the country wants from the government, is a simple removal of difficulties—peace, leisure, repose ; if she has any thing in her, she ought of herself to be able to do the rest ; if not, though government were to work miracles in her behalf, she would still remain where she is. But Ireland has given, even in her worst days, proof that she has the elements of regeneration within her bosom ; they require only to be evoked ; but it is not every one

who possesses the enchanter's wand, or who knows how to read aright the magic book. The love of industry and comfort is to be taught by practice, and by enjoyment; the more, prosperity and comfort be felt, the greater thirst and desire there will be, for more. Habits after all are nothing but the repetitions of the same act, and there is no reason why good ones should not be as easily practised and enforced as bad. When once these habits begin to be formed, an anxious desire for their preservation will naturally appear. The impartial administration of justice, the equal protection of property, the exact observance of the laws, perfect regard to the rights and franchises of the lowest citizen, are all natural results of this anxiety. When once this desire is fully expressed, rapid and radical ameliorations must take place in every part of the country. With such a desire, neither the Grand Jury system, nor the Vestry system, nor much of the actual Church system, can possibly coexist. Alterations of some kind or other must occur in all these things,—and *great* alterations in some. The Grand Jury taxation must be abolished altogether, or Grand Juries must become representative bodies, chosen by baronies and parishes, if they are to continue invested with the extensive

powers which they actually enjoy. They would thus form a series of small state legislatures, good substitutes for local parliaments. It is intolerable, that a body chosen by a high sheriff, chosen again by the crown, or the dispenser of the influence of the crown, should dispose as lavishly, and far more vexatiously, of public property, than the legislature itself.* The Vestry act is another direct infringement of the right of self-taxation, and in a state which affects to consider this right, as the basis of all its institutions, it is a system which ought not to be suffered for another session to endure. It ought to be the desire of honourable men, putting all its flagrant injustice out of the question, to seek for a support of their religious establishment elsewhere than in the pockets of the starving pea-

* The same may be said of Corporations. They are not only obsolete, but absurd. They were formerly intended as barriers against the feudal encroachments of the neighbouring barons, defences for artisans, encouragements to trade, &c. But when the barons and their feudalism are gone, why preserve the barriers? It is like taking an antidote against a poison, when the poison no longer infects the system. The antidote in such a case very often becomes a poison, worse than that against which it was to guard. But the government ere long will direct its attention to these abuses; or if the government neglect it, the people will do their duty, and take its place.

sant. A proud church, as the church of England boasts itself to be, ought to disdain acting the shameless and sturdy mendicant; a rich church, as the church of England unquestionably is, ought not to be suffered to act the plunderer of the poor man's earnings—the compulsory exactor of a tribute, for which she returns no equivalent or gain. But these are evils which must be corrected, not by the *Catholics*, but by the *country*. They are evils in which all are interested—evils which in the end produce quite as much injury to those who receive, as to those who give. The Church by this time ought to be pretty well impressed with the absolute necessity of reform; whether it shall be self-reform, that is, internal reform, or reform from without, depends principally, if not solely, upon herself. If she will not go down to the innovations which are advancing upon her, quietly and judiciously, the innovations will come up violently and abruptly, to her. Such was the case in the instance of the church of Rome; such will be the case in hers. In such a crisis, let her be well persuaded that all former feuds will be altogether forgotten; Catholics and Protestants will melt into laymen. The battle will be between old vested interests, and new interests, ten times stronger, which have grown up in their stead.

Neither antiquity, nor possession, nor any other venerable prejudice, can now be pleaded in bar of an amelioration. The forty-shilling freeholder pleaded, and the forty-shilling freeholder was not listened to. The late Disfranchisement bill, amongst its numerous bad consequences, has at least produced this one good, that it has cleared away much *cant*, on this as on other subjects, and left matters of national improvement to be argued on their own intrinsic merits, and not on the fictions and prejudices of the past. No side or partial interests, such as the late Catholic question, will for the future interfere with a just value for the common interests of the state. The people will speak out, and be believed when they speak. It will no longer be considered, when a public and notorious abuse is under observation, whether the abuse or the attack be Catholic or Protestant, but whether the abuse be *fact*, and whether the attack be *just*. This is a great and important result, for it at length opens the sure and straight path to national and gradual regeneration. Eligibility to office, individual advantage, are as nothing by the side of such a benefit. Were the Catholic only to become, what his Protestant countryman actually is or has been, much certainly would have been effected ; but how little in comparison to what still remains.

behind ! Yet let it not be invidiously said, that the Catholic is not satisfied. Far from it—the *Catholic* is fully satisfied ; but there is no reason why the *Irishman* and the *British citizen* should not wish for more. That there will always be such desires—that there will always be parties, and always agitation, in such a state as ours, is quite natural. It is the very condition of our liberties—it is the principle from which we have our political birth and being. God forbid it should not be so !—God forbid we should ever be condemned to live, in a country so lost to all noble aspirings, so stagnant and so sluggish to all that is great and good, as not to show a constant yearning and effort towards improvement ! As well might we wish to navigate a sea without waves, or to dwell under a sky without winds or clouds. Motion is the health of all bodies, moral as well as physical. Compel them into rest, and they die. But there is a great difference between a legitimate object for such exertion, and an illegitimate one. Catholic emancipation has done this—it has given a just and national direction to the national efforts. It has done more than any other measure, since the period of the great laws of the Commonwealth, to make the country truly citizen. It has turned our faces to the right point. Its discussions have

already given us activity, spirit, habits of thinking, of reasoning, of acting:—all we now want is union. That also, let it be hoped, we shall in due season acquire. Present men may then take up with confidence the noble task: they may labour for the prosperity of their country, and hope to leave something behind them for the benefit and gratitude of posterity. Who is there, in looking back on the perils and difficulties through which we have passed, who does not glory in having lived in such times? Who, with such a lesson before him—be the obstacles great or small—be the adversary weak or mighty—be the battle long or short, shall hereafter dare to despair of the perfect salvation of his country?

already given its activity, spirit, habits of thinking, of reasoning, of feeling: all we now want is action. That we, let it be hoped, we shall in due season acquire. Present ten days then take up with a candid and noble task: they may labor for the prosperity of their country, and hope to leave something behind them for the benefit and guidance of posterity. Who is there in looking back on the past and dimly calling through which we have passed, who does not glory in having lived in such times? Who, with such a lesson before him—be the obstacles great or small—be the adversary weak or mighty—be the battle long or short, shall in future dare to despair of the perfect salvation of his country?

APPENDIX.

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No. I.

The Catholic Clergy's Remonstrance of Loyalty.

WE, your Majesty's subjects, the Roman Catholic Clergy of the kingdom of Ireland together assembled, do hereby declare and solemnly protest, before God and his holy angels, that we own and acknowledge your Majesty to be our true and lawful King, supreme Lord, and undoubted Sovereign, as well of this realm of Ireland as of all other your Majesty's dominions; consequently we confess ourselves bound in conscience to be obedient to your Majesty in all civil and temporal affairs, as any subject ought to be to his prince, and as the laws of God and nature require at our hands. Therefore we promise that we will inviolably bear true allegiance to your Majesty, your lawful heirs and successors; and that no power on earth shall be able to withdraw us from our duty herein: and that we will, even to the loss of our blood, if occasion requires, assert

your Majesty's rights against any that shall invade the same, or attempt to deprive yourself, or your lawful heirs and successors, of any part thereof. And to the end this our sincere protestation may more clearly appear, we further declare, that it is not our doctrine, that subjects may be discharged, absolved, or freed from the obligation of performing their duty of true obedience and allegiance to their prince: much less may we allow of, or pass as tolerable, any doctrine that perniciously, or against the word of God, maintains, that any private subject may lawfully kill or murder the anointed of God, his prince. Wherefore, pursuant to the deep apprehension we have of the abomination and sad consequences of its practice, we do engage ourselves to discover to your Majesty, or some of your ministers, any attempt of that kind, rebellion or conspiracy, against your Majesty's person, crown, or royal authority, that comes to our knowledge, whereby such horrid evil may be prevented. Finally, as we hold the premises to be agreeable to good conscience, so we religiously swear the due observance thereof to our utmost; and we will preach and teach the same to our respective flocks. In witness whereof we do hereunto subscribe the day of June, 1666.

No. II.

Oath of Allegiance, to be administered to the Roman Catholics by the Ninth Article of the Capitulation of Limerick, and no other.

I, A B, do solemnly promise and swear, that I will

be faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary.

So help me God.

No. III.

Oaths imposed by the English Statutes 3rd and 4th of William and Mary, c. ii., in violation of the Ninth Article of Limerick.

DECLARATION AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

I, A B, do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at and after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever; and without any dispensation already granted me for the purpose by the Pope, or any other authority or person whatsoever; or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever; or without thinking that I am,

or can be, acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or persons, or power whatsoever, should dispense with, or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

Oath of Abjuration.

I, A B, do swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deposed by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any person whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.

So help me God.

No. IV.

Protest against the Act to confirm the Articles of Limerick.

RESOLVED on the question, that the engrossed Bill sent up by the Commons, entitled "An Act for the Confirmation of Articles made at the Surrender of the City of Limerick," do pass into a law.

Ordered on motion, that such lords as please may enter their protest to the last foregoing vote, with their reasons.

We, the Lords spiritual and temporal, whose names

are hereafter subscribed, do dissent from the aforesaid vote, and enter our protest against the same for the reasons following :—

1. Because we think the title of the Bill doth not agree with the body thereof, the title being, “An Act for the Confirmation of Articles made at the Surrender of the City of Limerick ;” whereas no one of the said Articles is therein, as we conceive, fully confirmed.

2. Because the said Articles were to be confirmed in favour of them to whom they were granted. But the confirmation of them by the Bill is such, that it puts them in a worse condition than they were before, as we conceive.

3. Because the Bill omits these material words—“and all such as are under their protection in said counties,” which are by his Majesty’s letters patent declared to be part of the 2nd article, and several persons have been adjudged within the said 2nd article by virtue of the aforementioned words: so that the words omitted, being so very material, and confirmed by his Majesty after a solemn debate, as we are informed, some express reasons, as we conceive, ought to have been assigned in the Bill, in order to satisfy the world as to that omission.

4. Because several words are inserted in the Bill which are not in the Articles; and others omitted, which alter both the sense and meaning of some parts of the Articles, as we conceive.

5. Because we apprehend that many Protestants may and will suffer by this Bill, in their just rights and pretensions, by reason of their having purchased, and

lent money upon the credit of the said Articles; and, as we conceive, in several other respects.

| | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| Londonderry. | John Ossory. |
| Tyrone. | Thomas Limerick. |
| Duncannon. | Thomas Killaloe. |
| S. Elphin. | Kerry. |
| Will. Derry. | Howth. |
| Will. Clonfert. | Kingston. |
| W. Killala. | Strabane. |

No. V.

Mr. Keogh's Account of the Delegation of 1793, *&c. &c. &c.*

In the year 1791, twelve Catholic citizens obtained an audience of the then secretary to the viceregal government, and presented to him a list of a part, and but a part of the penal laws, entreating the interest and protection of government, while they sought a removal of any one, although it should be the very smallest of our grievances. The secretary, the agent of this *trembling* court, did not deign to give this respectful deputation even a *refusal*; he dismissed them without an answer. Repelled in this quarter, we prepared a brief and most humble petition to the legislature. But four millions of subjects could not get one member of parliament even to present their petition to the house! Mr. (afterwards Lord) O'Neil, had indeed undertaken the task; but superior influence induced or compelled him to retract, and he peremptorily refused to discharge his engagement.

As to the aristocracy of the Catholics, they, it must be confessed, were not inactive: they exerted themselves, it is true, but their exertions were directly in opposition to our seeking redress. The peerage was unanimous, and supported by some of our bishops, by many of our wealthy merchants, and by nearly the whole of the landed interest, it is easy to conceive what must have been the aggregate weight of such a body. They triumphed in our discomfiture, and the insulting manner in which the deputation had been dismissed from the castle furnished them with a copious subject of ridicule. Thus, then, rejected by government, refused admittance to parliament, scoffed at and opposed by our own nobility and gentry, and all over whom either possessed any influence, our petition was abandoned by the Catholics of Dublin themselves, from a conviction that any farther application for redress must be hopeless, while the accumulated influence of government, parliament, and even of their own body, was placed in the opposite scale against it. On this, Mr. Chairman, *Catholicus ipse*, has the unparalleled ignorance or the unblushing effrontery to say, “that a trembling court intended to grant our emancipation.” And as the assertion is made in the form of a charge against me, I am compelled, for the purpose of repelling it, to state the share I had in raising the Catholics from the despondency, or rather the despair, into which they had fallen;—and I shall do this, with two of the committee of that inauspicious period in my view, who can correct if there be any thing erroneous, or contradict if there be any thing false, in my statement.

The select committee was, at my request, summoned, and met at Allen's Court. It was their determination to give up the cause as desperate, lest a perseverance in what they considered as an idle pursuit, might not only prove ineffectual, but draw down a train of persecution on the body. I was of a different opinion, and pressed, that one of the committee should be deputed to London to advocate their cause with the immediate ministers of the crown, and that the expenses of his mission should be defrayed out of the general fund, which was then sufficient for the purpose. The proposal was of a novel, and thought to be of an idle nature, an emanation of an ardent, an enthusiastic, perhaps a disordered mind. They were persuaded that the minister would not receive their deputy, and at all events would grant no relaxation of our grievances, upon the not-unnatural presumption, that the Irish government must have been apprised of his sentiments when they closed the doors both of the cabinet and the parliament against us. Finally, every man refused to go upon so hopeless an errand, and the meeting was actually breaking up, and about to disperse for ever, when I, and I alone, offered to go to London, and at my own expense, to solicit an audience from ministers. All I required was the authority of their permission, which I obtained, and I accordingly set out for the British capital, where I remained for three months, and whence I returned to this kingdom, in January, 1792—accompanied, at my own desire, by the son of that illustrious Irishman, Edm. Burke.

I arrived in London without any introduction from

this country, without any support, any assistance, any instructions. I call upon those who hear me, and who, as I before said, are competent to contradict me, if I falsify or exaggerate, to say whether I have been guilty of either. I had gone, in the opinion of my brethren of the committee, upon a forlorn hope, and they probably scarce expected to hear any thing more of me or my mission. I was introduced to the truly great Edmund Burke, the sincere friend of Ireland, and, for that very reason, of the Catholic body; through him to the present Lord Melville, then Mr. Dundas, and minister of the Irish department. I will not, because it is not now necessary, enter into a detail of the reasons I urged in my interview with that statesman; suffice it to say, that I had the very good fortune and happiness to convince that minister that the interest of his Majesty required that the condition of his Catholic subjects in Ireland should be ameliorated.

In consequence of this, at the opening of the ensuing session, in January, 1792, a ministerial member, Sir H. Langrishe, introduced a bill into the House of Commons of Ireland, which afterwards received the royal assent, and which opened to us the profession of the law—privilege of education unrestrained by the necessity of license—and of legal intermarriage between Protestants and Catholics; and now for these exertions, made at my own expense, and attended with a degree of success beyond the most ardent hopes, or even wishes of the Catholics at that period, are accusations brought against me by this infamous calumniator, of having betrayed the cause, which my then individual efforts supported. But let me proceed.

So far was complete emancipation from being demanded, or even thought of, at that time, much more of course from being in the contemplation of the government, that the Irish parliament, on the 20th day of the following month, February, 1792, rejected a petition from the Catholic body, for “only *some share* in the elective franchise,” with a majority of 203 against 23.

The hostile spirit of the Irish government met in the aristocracy of the Catholics, very active, very zealous, but certainly not very able partisans. The peers and gentry, and all whom they could influence, signed a declaration at the instigation of government, in which meanness and folly were combined, opposing the intended relief of their *country*, their *children*, and *themselves*; and the Irish government forwarded this declaration to Lord Melville, then, as I before said, Mr. Secretary Dundas, for the declared purpose of inducing him to withdraw the support of government from the proposed bill of Sir Hercules Langrishe; but that minister refused to gratify them in this instance.

Animated by the relaxation they had obtained, the Catholics of Dublin summoned a convention from every part of the kingdom to assemble in the capital. This measure created a universal outcry from the Irish government and all its agents, whether at county meetings, grand juries, or corporations. We were charged with an attempt to overawe the parliament, or to erect the standard of rebellion. The Catholic nobility were again pressed into the service, for which they were apparently more calculated by their disposition than their abilities. They pledged themselves, not only not to join in, but likewise to prevent the assembling of the

convention. Terrified by the threats of government upon the one side, weighed down by the millstone of aristocratic influence upon the other, the counties remained unmoved, apparently unaffected; at least they did not make any effort towards appointing representatives to the intended convention. This obstacle was to be overcome, or the hopes of the Catholics were blasted for ever. I again came forward: I went through the four provinces, accompanied by my lamented friend, T. W. Tone; I attended the meeting of the Catholic bishops in Ulster, held in that province. With those prelates I found it necessary to have an interview, likewise with the bishops of Connaught, who had been tampered with and deceived by the misrepresentations of a Catholic lawyer. In my journey thither, I was accompanied by my dear and much-lamented friend, Thomas Broughall, with whom I traversed the whole south of Ireland. When a good example was once set, it was followed with enthusiasm, and the convention became the genuine, full, and complete representation of the Catholics of Ireland. Yet even this convention did not entertain an idea, for some time, of applying for more than the elective franchise and admission to grand juries, until, towards its close, it determined to petition the sovereign himself for a full admission to all the rights and privileges of the constitution. The convention appointed five of its members to carry the petition to the foot of the throne. In January, 1793, the deputation was introduced to the King, and presented the petition. I was of the number; so were, Lord French, Christopher Bellew, and James Edward Devereux, Esqrs., who are

still living ; and to these three surviving delegates I refer for the honourable testimony which they bore with respect to my services at our interview with Lord Melville. But I hasten to what gives me infinitely greater pleasure, the *result*. The result was, that the Catholics were restored to the elective franchise—to magistracies—to grand juries—and one sweeping clause removed numberless penal statutes. These privileges, so beneficial to the tenantry of Ireland, from the greatest landholder to the peasant, my accuser calls *petty privileges*; and the share I have had in procuring them, he pronounces to be another of the injuries I have done to the Catholics of Ireland.

This anonymous writer calls on me to account for the address to the Duke of Bedford: he says, that it is grovelling and slavish, without one expression conveying a hope of Catholic emancipation. I have in my hand that address, from which I will read two paragraphs, to prove his want of truth in this, as in his other charges, and that the address did convey a hope of emancipation. The following are the paragraphs I allude to:—

“ That it will be the achievement of your Grace’s administration to have guided a salutary and comprehensive scheme of policy to *that glorious development*, of which the advantages have been in part displayed; and the important consequences must be to invigorate the admirable British constitution, by introducing a loyal people to defend it, as their own chief good.

“ May your Grace permit us to conclude with the expression of those sentiments, in which all Irish Catholics can have but one voice. Bound as we are to the

fortunes of the empire, by a remembrance of past and *the hope of future benefits*—by our preference and by our oaths—should the wise generosity of our law-givers vouchsafe to crown that hope, which their justice inspires, it would be no longer our duty alone, but our pride, to appear the foremost against approaching danger; and, if necessary, to remunerate our benefactors by the sacrifice of our lives.”

But a strong and specific charge remains to be answered—that either five or six thousand a year was offered by government, as a bribe for keeping back for one year the Catholic petition. The charge is against me:—it is evident, that he must insinuate, that not only the offer was made to me, but accepted by me; for if I rejected the offer, where would be the crime on my side? I once more call on this defamer to come forward, and give even a shadow of proof in support of this charge. The present and the late government must know of every sum paid for secret services; and I defy *Catholicus ipse*—I defy the late administration—I defy the present administration, or any man living, to substantiate this charge; and now, in the presence of my country and my God, do solemnly declare, that I never received from any minister or government to the amount of sixpence for myself, my sons, or for any part of my family; and the proceedings here this day shall, through the medium of the public prints, come before every one of the parties. As to the allusion of my being visited by Messrs. Ponsonby and Grattan, and the hint, that no acquaintance, friendship, or family connexion, exists between them and me—I scorn to make a boast of ac-

quaintance with elevated characters.—Whatever advances to any thing of that kind may have taken place, have uniformly proceeded from themselves; but if the writer, *whoever* or *whatever* he is, means it as an aspersion, that I am the founder of my own fortune—that I have no hereditary estate in a country, where robbery, under the form of confiscation or the penal code, has deprived all the ancient Irish of their property—the unmeaning allusion and insipid hint I shall treat with silent contempt, and hasten to the refutation of one lie more, that “I kept back the recital of our sufferings during the late administration.”

The Duke of Bedford arrived here about April, 1806.—On the very commencement of the next session, a deputation, of which I was one, had two interviews with Mr. Secretary Elliot and Lord Chancellor Ponsonby, to press the question of emancipation. As soon, however, as I had reason to think that our application was overruled in England by Lord Grenville, I then sounded the alarm at a meeting held on the 24th of January, 1807; and, as what I then said was printed by Fitzpatrick, by order of the committee, I refer to it, without troubling the present meeting with a recapitulation. A degree of consequence was, indeed, attributed by others to that speech, which I never thought it merited; which is, that it was brought to the King, and contributed to the dismissal of Lord Grenville and his colleagues in 1807. But this much I know, that, from that day to this, Mr. Ponsonby never honoured me with a visit—which I regret infinitely, more from my personal respect for the man, than on ac-

count of his being a leader in opposition or administration.

Permit me now, Mr. Chairman, to return my most grateful thanks to you and this assembly, for the patience with which I have been heard, the honour which has been conferred upon me, and the indignation which has been evinced against an infamous assassin, who has attempted to surprise and calumniate a man, who had devoted near thirty years of his life for the purpose of breaking the chains of his countrymen.

NO. VI.

Resolutions of the Roman Catholic Prelates in 1799.

At a meeting of the Roman Catholic prelates, held in Dublin the 17th, 18th, and 19th of January, 1799, to deliberate on a proposal from government, of an independent provision for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland under certain regulations, not incompatible with their doctrine, discipline, or just principles:—

It was admitted, that a provision through government for the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom, competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted.

That, in the appointment of the prelates of the Roman Catholic religion to vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference of government as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed, is just, and ought to be agreed to.

That, to give this principle its full operation, without infringing the discipline of the Roman Catholic church, or diminishing the religious influence, which prelates

of that church ought justly to possess over their respective flocks, the following regulations seem necessary :—

1st.—In the vacancy of a see, the clergy of the diocese to recommend, as usual, a candidate to the prelates of the ecclesiastical province, who elect him, or any other they may think more worthy, by a majority of suffrages :—in the case of equality of suffrages, the metropolitan or senior prelate to have the casting vote.

2d.—In the election of a metropolitan, if the provincial prelates do not agree within two months after the vacancy, the senior prelate shall forthwith invite the surviving metropolitans to the election, in which each will then have a vote :—in the equality of suffrages, the presiding metropolitan to have a casting vote.

3d.—In these elections, the majority of suffrages must be, *ultra medietatem*, as the canons require, or must consist of the suffrages of more than half the electors.

4th.—The candidates *so elected*, to be presented by the president of the election to government, which, within one month after such presentation, will transmit the name of the said candidate, if no objection be made against him, for appointment to the holy see, or return the said name to the president of the election, for such transmission as may be agreed on.

5th.—If government have any proper objection against such candidates, the president of the election will be informed thereof within one month after presentation ; who in that case will convene the electors to the election of another candidate.

Agreeably to the discipline of the Roman Catholic

church, these regulations can have no effect without the sanction of the holy see ; which sanction the Roman Catholic prelates of this kingdom shall, as soon as may be, use their endeavours to procure.

The prelates are satisfied, that the nomination of parish priests, with a certificate of their having taken the oath of allegiance, be certified to government.

| | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Richard O'Reilly. | J. T. Troy. |
| Edward Dillon. | Thomas Bray. |
| P. J. Plunkett. | F. Moylan. |
| Daniel Delany. | Edmund French. |
| James Caulfield. | John Cruise. |

Subsequent Resolution of the Roman Catholic Electors.

The prelates assembled to deliberate on a proposal from government of a provision for the clergy, have agreed, that M. R. Doctor O'Reilly, M. R. Doctor Troy, and R. R. Doctor Plunkett, and such other of the prelates who may be in town, be commissioned *to transact all business with government* relative to said proposal, under the substance of the regulations agreed on and subscribed by them.

| | |
|----------------|------------------|
| Thomas Bray. | James Caulfield. |
| Edward Dillon. | Edmund French. |
| F. Moylan. | John Cruise. |
| Daniel Delany. | |

Dublin, 28th January, 1799.

No. VII.

At a meeting of the Roman Catholic prelates, assembled in Dublin, on the 25th Feb. 1810, the following resolutions had been unanimously adopted:—

1. Resolved, that it is the undoubted and exclusive right of Roman Catholic bishops to discuss all matters appertaining to the doctrines and discipline of the Roman Catholic church.

2. Resolved, that we do hereby confirm and declare our unaltered adherence to the resolutions unanimously entered into at our last general meeting, on the 14th September, 1808.

3. Resolved, that we are convinced, that the oath of allegiance framed and proposed by the legislature itself, and taken by us, is not only adequate security for our loyalty, but that we know of no stronger pledge that we can possibly give.

4. Resolved, that having disclaimed upon oath all right in the Pope or any other foreign potentate to interfere in the temporal concerns of the kingdom, an adherence to the practice observed in the appointment of Irish Roman Catholic prelates cannot tend to produce an undue or mischievous exercise of any foreign influence whatsoever.

5. Resolved, that we neither seek nor desire any other earthly consideration for our spiritual ministry to our respective flocks, save what they may, from a sense of religion and duty, voluntarily afford us.

6. Resolved, that an address, explanatory of these

our sentiments, be prepared and directed to the Roman Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland, and conveying such further instruction as existing circumstances may seem to require.

NO. VIII.

Resolutions of the Irish Catholic Laity against the Veto.

At a meeting of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, held at D'Arcy's, in Earl Street, on the 2d of March, 1810,

LORD FFRENCH in the Chair,

The Most Rev. Doctor Murray read to the Committee a written communication from the Catholic prelates of Ireland. It was unanimously resolved, That the thanks of the Committee are due, and are hereby given, to the Most Rev. and Right Rev. the Catholic prelates of Ireland, for the communication now made to us through the Most Rev. Doctor Murray and the Rev. Doctor Hamill.

That the thanks of the meeting are due, and are hereby given, to the Most Rev. Doctor Murray and the Rev. Doctor Hamill, for making the communication, That, as Irishmen, and as Catholics, we never can consent to any dominion or control whatsoever over the appointment of our prelates on the part of the crown, or the servants of the crown. That the thanks of the Committee are hereby given to Daniel O'Connell, Esq. for the faithful discharge of the duty of secretary.

FFRENCH, Chairman.

No. IX.

ORIGINAL.

*Copy of a Letter from Monsgr. Quarantotti to the
Right Rev. Dr. Poynter, V. A.*

ILL^{ME} AC R^{ME} D^{NE},

Non sine maxima voluptate accepimus, facile esse futurum, ut lex, quæ superiore anno rogata fuit pro Catholicorum istius florentissimi regni emancipatione a poenalibus legibus, quæque ex modico suffragiorum defectu rejecta fuit, in novis hujus anni comitiis iterum proponatur. Utinam hæc tam optata lex aliquando feratur, et Catholici, qui *præclara semper* præbuerunt *obedientiæ*, ac fidelitatis *suæ argumenta*, a *gravissimo*, quo jamdiu premuntur, *jugo* tandem emergant; ut absque ullo honorum ac facultatum detrimento ad ea possint alacrius incumbere, quæ et religio et patriæ bonum ab iis expostulant: quod quidem sperare juvat a beneficentissimo Rege, atque ab inclytâ natione, quæ æquitate, prudentia, cæterisque virtutibus, tum antè, tum maxime postremis hisce temporibus tantam sibi apud omnes populos gloriam comparavit. Et quoniam delatum est aliquas inter Episcopos obortas esse quæstiones, atque discrimina circa conditiones, quæ Catholicis appositæ sunt, ut cæteris æquiparentur; nos, qui summo absente Pastore sacris Missionibus præferti sumus, et Pontificiis omnibus *facultatibus* ad id *communiti*, muneris nostri partes esse putavimus omnem ambiguitatem, atque objectionem removere, quæ optatæ conciliationi possit obsistere, et quo non pervenit Episco-

porum facultas, *S. Sedis auctoritate, et consensione* supplere. HABITO IGITUR DOCTISSIMORUM PRÆSULUM, AC THEOLOGORUM CONSILIO, *perspectis litteris, tum ab ampl^{le}. tua, tum ab archiepiscopo Dubliniensi huc missis, ac re in peculiari congregatione* MATURE PERPENZA, *decretum est, ut Catholici legem, quæ superiore anno rogata fuit pro illorum emancipatione juxta formam, quæ ab ampl^{le}. tua relata est, ÆQUO, GRATOQUE ANIMO EXCIPIANT, ET AMPLECTANTUR.* Unum est, quod aliquâ declaratione eget, scilicet secunda jurisjurandi pars, quâ Clerus obstringitur nullam habere se posse cum Summo Pontifice, ejusque Ministris, communicationem, quæ directè, vel indirectè valeat Protestantium regimen, sive Ecclesiam subvertere, aut quomodolibet perturbare. Satis exploratum est, id jure divino præcipuum esse Ministrorum Ecclesiæ munus, ut Catholicam fidem, quæ una potest ad æternam felicitatem perducere, undique præpagare curent, erroresque depellere. Hoc Evangelii præcepta docent, hoc Apostolorum, eorumque Successorum exempla. Jam si Catholicus Protestantem aliquem ad Orthodoxam Religionem revocaverit, perjurii reus poterit judicari, quia nempe illo avocando Protestantem Ecclesiam aliquo modo turbasse videretur. Si res ita intelligatur, juramentum hoc præstare non licet, utpote quod Catholico dogmati reluctatur. Sin ea sit Legislatorum mens, ut Catholicæ Ecclesiæ ministris non interdicta sint *prædicatio, suasio, consilium*, sed tantum ne liceat ipsis Protestantem Ecclesiam, seu regimen, *vi, et armis*, aut *malis* quibusque artibus perturbare, hoc rectum est, nostrisque principiis apprimè cohæret. Tuum itaque

erit excelsum istud regimen omni animi demissione, ac studio deprecari, ut ad sedandas, tutandasque Catholici Cleri conscientias, modificationem, aut declarationem aliquam ejusmodi juramenti formulæ dare velit, quæ, omni ambiguitate sublatâ, pacificæ prædicationi, ac persuasioni locum relinquat. Quod si vel lata jam fuerit rogata lex iisdem verbis, vel nihil in iis immutari voluerit, Clerus acquiescat; ac satis erit, ut palam ipse denunciaret, eam esse suam jurandi mentem, ut Orthodoxa in ejusmodi juramento doctrina salva remaneat, ac non aliter; atque ut protestatio ista omnibus innotescat; et sit etiam posteris exemplum in acta relata servabitur. Optandum quoque foret, ut ab aliquibus etiam publici concilii membris, si fieri posset, declaratio fieret, hoc planè sensu, ac non alio, Britannicum regimen a Catholico Clero juramentum exigere. Cætera vero, quæ in propositâ lege contineri scripsisti, ea quidem poterunt ex Apostolicæ sedis indulgentiâ *tolerari*.

Quod rex certior fieri velit de illorum fidelitate, qui ad Episcopatum, vel Decanatum promoventur, ac tutus esse, num iis dotibus instructi sint, quæ bonum civem decent: quod ipse præterea ad hæc investiganda Comitatum instituat, qui in eorum mores inquirat, ac referat regi, prout Ampl. Tua nobis significavit: quod demum eâ ipsâ de causâ rex ab his dignitatibus exclusos in posterum velit, tum alienigenas, tum eos, qui a quinquennio domicilium in regno non habuerunt; hæc omnia cum id tantum respiciant, *quod civile est*, omnem mereri *tolerantiam possunt*. Præstat quidem, ut nostri Antistites grati acceptique sint regi; ut plenâ illius consensione suum ministerium exerceant; ut denique de

illorum probitate constet etiam apud eos, qui de Ecclesiæ gremio non sunt; Episcopum enim (ut docet Apostolus, i. ad Timoth. 3. 7.) oportet, et testimonium habere bonum ab iis, qui foris sunt. Hæc cum ita sint, ex traditâ nobis auctoritate indulgemus, ut qui ad Episcopatum, vel Decanatum designati ac propositi sunt a Clero, admitti, vel rejici a rege possint juxta rogatam legem. Postquam igitur Clerus illos de more delegerit, quos ad occupandas hujusmodi dignitates digniores in D^{no} judicaverit, Metropolitanus provinciæ in Hibernia, Vicarius vero Apostolicus Senior in Angliâ et Scotiâ illos comitatus denunciabunt, ut regia inde approbatio, sive dissensio habeatur. Si candidati rejecti fuerint, alii proponentur, qui regi placeant: si vero probati, Metropolitanus, aut Vicarius Apostolicus, ut supra, acta mittet ad sacram hanc Congregationem, quæ singulorum meritis rite perpensis, canonicam a Summo Pontifice institutionem obtinendam curabit. Illud quoque video commissum esse eidem comitatui munus, ut nempe litteras examinare debeat quæ alicui ex Clero Britannico ab ecclesiasticâ potestate scribuntur, ac diligenter inquirere, an aliquid illæ contineant, quod gubernio offensum sit, aut publicam tranquillitatem perturbare aliquo modo possit. Cum in ecclesiasticis, ac spiritualibus rebus, non interdicta sit cum Capite Ecclesiæ communicatio, sed comitatus inspectio ad politicum tantum referatur, erit etiam in hoc acquiescendum. Bonum est, ut regimen istud nullam plane concipere possit de nostrâ communicatione suspensionem. Cunctis patere possunt ea, quæ scribimus; non enim nos ullo pacto miscemus in iis, quæ civilia sunt, sed ea tantum inqui-

rimus, quæ divina, et ecclesiastica lex, ac bonus, ecclesiæ ordo postulare videntur. Ea tantum secretò servanda erunt, quæ internum conscientiæ forum afficiunt; at in iis satis cautum fuisse video per regulas ab eâdem lege traditas; satis nobis persuasum est, sapiens istud regimen, dum publicæ securitati consulere vult, nunquam proinde exigere velle, ut Catholici religioni desint suæ; imo potius gratum habere, ut illam sedulo observent; hæc enim sancta, et plane divina religio publicæ potestati favet, solia firmat, subditosque facit obtemperantes, fideles, studiososque patriæ. Nihil propterea potest Apostolicæ sedi gratius ac jucundius accidere, quam ut inter gubernium istud, et Catholicos illi subjectos, plena concordia, mutuaque fiducia servetur; ut reipublicæ moderatores de Catholicorum fidelitate, obedientiâ, atque adhæsione dubitare numquam possint; ut denique Catholici ipsi omni planè studio, candore, alacritate, patriæ deserviant. *Quapropter omnes in Domino hortamur*, præsertim vero Episcopos, ut omni *contentione sepositâ*, ad cæterorum *edificationem*, omnes unanimiter *idipsum* sapiant *ac sentiant*, ut nullus detur *schismati* locus, *nec ullum rei Catholicæ damnum inferatur*; verum si lata fuerit lex, quâ Catholici a pœnis, quibus obstricti sunt, liberentur, eam non modo æquo animo amplectantur juxta ea, quæ dicta sunt, sed etiam Majestati suæ, et magnificentissimo ejus Concilio maximas agant pro tanto beneficio gratias, eoque se dignos exhibeant. Denique Ampl^{em}. Tuam rogamus, ut cunctis istius Regni Episcopis Vicariisque Apostolicis epistolam hanc communicari curet; ac fore sperantes, ut his, quæ ex tributâ nobis potestate decreta sunt, promptè, plenèque

sese conformet, Deum O. M. precor, ut Amplit^{em}.
Tuam diutissime hospitet, atque interim omni cum
observantiâ me tibi obstrictum profiteor.

Obsequentissimus Famulus,

J. B. QUARANTOTTI, *Vice Præf^{us}*.

MICHAEL ADEODATUS GALLEASSI, *Subst^{us}*.

Datum Romæ, ex Ædibus de Propagandâ

Fide, 16 Februarii, 1814.

Ill^{mo} ac R^{mo} D^{no} Guillelmo Poynter,

Epis^o. Haliensi, Vicario Londini

Apostolico, Londinum.

No. X.

Resolutions establishing the General Committee of 1809.

At a meeting held at the Exhibition Room, William Street, May 24, 1809, the following resolutions were agreed to:

Resolved, We, the Catholics of Ireland, have made repeated petitions for the relief of our grievances. The greatest and wisest of men, both in and out of parliament, both in and out of office, were decidedly in favour of the expediency and justice of our claims; and they further insisted, that it was necessary to the very existence of the empire to interest in its defence a population of from four to five millions of Catholics, constituting more than a fourth of the United Kingdom. We are now unhappily and experimentally convinced, that no principle of justice, no force of reasoning, is suffi-

cient to counteract a malignant influence, which threatens the empire with general contamination and consequent destruction. Public delinquents and defrauders would put to hazard the existence of the reigning family, and the integrity of the empire, rather than restore the people to the privileges of the constitution, which would produce such wholesome reform of abuses as must deprive themselves of the opportunity of undue influence and speculation. Under these discouraging circumstances, without hope of success at present, we are unwilling to agitate our claims by petition to parliament, feeling that rejection might increase the discontent already existing in our body; and we cannot be indifferent to the pernicious effect of acquainting authentically, through the debates of the British parliament, our potent and too successful enemy, of the internal divisions and the corruptions of the state in the only powerful nation not yet subject to his control.—Proposed by Mr. Keogh.

Resolved unanimously, That the noble Lords who compose the Catholic peerage, and the survivors of the persons who were in the year 1793 delegates of the Catholics of Ireland, and acquitted themselves of that charge with zeal, talent, and permanent utility, together with the persons who were appointed by the Catholic citizens of Dublin to prepare a late address, do possess the confidence of the Catholic body.—Proposed by Mr. Mac Donnell.

Resolved unanimously, That in case of the death, or want of confidence in any of the above-mentioned persons, the remainder shall receive among them such per-

son or persons as shall distinctly appear to them to possess the confidence of the Catholic body.—Proposed by Mr. Mac Donnell.

Resolved unanimously, That the persons who composed the committees to manage the petitions in the years 1805 and 1807 do form part of the above body, so that the number of those added does not exceed forty-two.—Proposed by Mr. Burke, of Glynske.

Resolved unanimously, That it be confided to the foregoing noblemen and gentlemen to take into consideration the form of a petition to parliament, and the mode of presenting it, so that the same may be prepared by the first day of the next session.—Proposed by Mr. O'Connell.

Resolved unanimously, That the noblemen and gentlemen aforesaid are not representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof; nor shall they assume or pretend to be representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof. Therefore, that it be imperative upon them to have the said petition presented to parliament within the first fortnight of the next session.—Proposed by Mr. O'Connell.

Resolved unanimously, That the above-mentioned persons be authorised to receive subscriptions for the purpose of defraying the expenses attendant on the Catholic petition.—Proposed by Mr. Burke.

Resolved unanimously, That from the activity, zeal, integrity, and ability, evinced by Edward Hay, Esq. in the discharge of his duty as secretary to the Catholics of Ireland, he is hereby appointed to act as secretary to

the aforesaid body.—Proposed by Mr. Lalor, County Tipperary.

FINGAL, Chairman.

The Earl of Fingal having left the chair, and Sir Francis Goold, Bart., being called thereto,

Resolved unanimously, That the most marked thanks of this meeting are hereby offered to the Earl of Fingal, for his dignified and proper conduct on this and every other occasion.—Proposed by Mr. O'Connell.

No. XI.

Resolutions and Petition for Unqualified Emancipation, 31st Jan. 1810.

At a meeting of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, held at the committee room, No. 4, Crow Street, on the 31st Jan. 1810,

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE, Bart., in the Chair,

Resolved, That, solemnly protesting against the unrelenting system of intolerance, which the Catholics of Ireland appear to be doomed in this enlightened age to endure, we are yet steadfastly determined to persevere in claiming our emancipation:

And by our constancy in this just pursuit, and by availing ourselves of all warrantable means for this purpose, to prove ourselves worthy of those equal rights and liberties, which we demand, and can never consent to forego.

Resolved, That, not dismayed by past disappointments, or deterred by existing difficulties, we shall take every occasion to utter our complaints, to solicit ample discussion, and to render our degraded and oppressed condition universally known, relying, that the unerring influence of justice and sound reason (to which we appeal) must speedily subdue those blind and fatal prejudices, which obstruct the freedom and happiness of Ireland.

Resolved, That it is the indispensable duty of this committee to have their petition to parliament presented to both houses, so that the entire merits of our cause may be fairly and amply discussed.

Resolved, That the Earl of Fingal be requested forthwith to cause our petitions to both houses of parliament to be so proceeded upon, as to ensure that inquiry and discussion, which the honour and interest of the Catholic body imperiously require.

The following is the copy of that petition :

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament assembled ;

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, on behalf of ourselves and others, his Majesty's subjects, professing the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, humbly beg leave to represent to this honourable house—

That we, your petitioners, did, in the years 1805 and 1808, humbly petition this honourable house, praying the total abolition of the penal laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland.

We now feel ourselves obliged, in justice to ourselves,

our families, and our country, once more to solicit the attention of this honourable house to the subject of our said petition.

We state, that the Catholics constitute the most numerous and increasing portion of the inhabitants of Ireland, comprising an immense majority of the manufacturing, trading, and agricultural interests, and amounting at least to four-fifths of the Irish population; that they contribute largely to the exigencies of their country, civil and military; that they pay the far greater part of the public and local taxes; that they supply the armies and navies of this empire with upwards of one-third part in number of the soldiers and sailors employed in the public service; and that notwithstanding heavy discouragements, they form the principal constituent part of the strength, wealth, and industry of Ireland.

Yet such is the grievous operation of the penal laws, of which we complain, that the Roman Catholics are thereby not only set apart from their fellow subjects as aliens in their native land, but are ignominiously and rigorously proscribed from almost all situations of public trust, honour, or emolument, including every public function and department, from the houses of legislature down to the most petty corporation.

We state, whenever the labour of public duty is to be exacted and enforced, the Catholic is sought out and selected; where honours or rewards are to be dispensed, he is neglected or contemned.

Where the military and naval strength of the empire is to be recruited, the Catholics are eagerly solicited,

may compelled, to bear their full share in the perils of warfare, and in the lowest rank ; but when preferment or promotion (the dear and legitimate prize of successful valour) are to be distributed as rewards of merit, no laurels are destined to a Catholic's brow, or fit the wearer for command.

We state thus generally the grievous condition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, occasioned solely by the fatal influence and operation of the penal laws ; and though we forbear to enter into greater detail, yet we do not the less trust to the influence of reason and justice (which eventually must prevail) for effecting a full and deliberate inquiry into our grievances, and accomplishing our effectual relief.

We do beg leave, however, most solemnly, to press upon the attention of this honourable house the imminent public dangers, which necessarily result from so inverted an order of things, and so vicious and unnatural a system of legislation ; a system, which has long been the reproach of this nation, and is unparalleled throughout modern Christendom.

And we state it as our fixed opinion, that to restore to the Catholics of Ireland a full, equal, and unqualified participation of the benefits of the laws and constitution of England, and to withdraw all the privations, restrictions, and vexatious distinctions, which oppress, injure, and afflict them in their country, is now become a measure not merely expedient, but absolutely necessary ; not only a debt of right due to a complaining people, but perhaps the last remaining resource of this empire, in the preservation of which we take so deep an interest.

We therefore pray this honourable house to take into their most serious consideration the nature, extent, and operation of the aforesaid penal laws, and by repealing the same altogether, to restore to the Roman Catholics of Ireland those liberties so long withheld, and their due share in that constitution, which they, in common with their fellow subjects of every other description, contribute by taxes, arms, and industry, to sustain and defend.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c. &c.

No. XII.

Circular Letter of the Right Hon. W. Wellesley Pole,

Dublin Castle, February 12th, 1811.

SIR,

It being reported that the Roman Catholics in the county of ——— are to be called together, or have been called together, to nominate or appoint persons or representatives, delegates or managers, to act in their behalf as members of an unlawful assembly, sitting in Dublin, and calling itself the Catholic Committee, you are required, in pursuance of the provisions of an Act of the 33rd of the King, chap. 29, to cause to be arrested, and to commit to prison (unless bail shall be given), all persons within your jurisdiction who shall be guilty of giving or having given, or of publishing or having published, or of causing or having caused to be given or published, any written or other notice of the election and appointment, in any manner, of such representative, delegate, or manager, as aforesaid ; or of

attending, voting, or acting, or of having attended, voted, or acted, in any manner, in the choice or appointment of such representative, delegate, or manager. And you are to communicate these directions, as far as lies in your power, forthwith, to the several magistrates of the said county of ———.

N. B. Sheriffs are to act under the warrant of magistrates in cases where the crime has been committed.

By command of His Grace the Lord Lieutenant.

W. W. POLE.

To ———, &c. &c. &c.

No. XIII.

Letter of the King on his leaving Ireland in 1821.

Dublin Castle, September 3rd, 1821.

MY LORD,

The time of the King's departure from Ireland being arrived, I am commanded by His Majesty to express his entire approbation of the manner in which all persons acting in civil and military situations in the city of Dublin and its neighbourhood have performed their several duties during the period of His Majesty's residence in this part of the kingdom. His Majesty is pleased to consider, that to your Excellency his acknowledgments are particularly due: he is conscious how much he owes to your Excellency's attentions and arrangements; and His Majesty gladly avails himself of this occasion of declaring the high sense which he entertains of the ability, temper, and firmness, with which your

Excellency has uniformly administered the great trust which he has placed in your hands.

I am further commanded to state, that the testimonies of dutiful and affectionate attachment which His Majesty has received from all classes and descriptions of his Irish subjects, have made the deepest impression on his mind; and that he looks forward to the period when he shall revisit them with the strongest feelings of satisfaction. His Majesty trusts that, in the mean time, not only the spirit of loyal union which now so generally exists will remain unabated and unimpaired, but that every cause of irritation will be avoided and discountenanced, mutual forbearance and good-will observed and encouraged, and security be thus afforded for the continuance of that concord amongst themselves, which is not less essential to His Majesty's happiness than to their own; and which it has been the chief object of His Majesty, during his residence in this country, to cherish and promote.

His Majesty well knows the generosity and warmth of heart which distinguish the character of his faithful people of Ireland; and he leaves them with a heart full of affection towards them, and with the confident and gratifying persuasion, that this parting admonition and injunction of their Sovereign will not be given in vain.

I have the honour to be,

With great truth and regard, my Lord,

Your Excellency's most obedient

And faithful Servant,

SIDMOUTH.

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.

No. XIV.

Rules and Regulations of the Catholic Association of Ireland, commencing Saturday, 24th May, 1823.

JOSEPH M'DONNELL, Esq. in the Chair.

The Committee appointed to prepare the draft of laws and regulations for the Association reported, whereupon the following resolutions were adopted :

That the Catholic Association be formed to adopt all such legal and constitutional measures as may be most useful to obtain Catholic emancipation.

That the Association is not a representative or delegated body ; and that it will not assume any representative or delegated authority or quality.

That such individuals as shall give in their names to the secretary, and pay an annual subscription of one pound two shillings and ninepence, be members of this Association ; and that same be payable each first day of January.

That no motion shall be debated at any meeting of this Association without one week's previous notice.

That all reporters for newspapers, &c. be at liberty to attend all the meetings of the Association.

That the Secretary do call an extraordinary meeting of the Association whenever required, by a requisition signed by at least twenty members.

That the proceedings of the Association as well as notices of motions be entered in a book, always open

for inspection and reference; and that a book be also kept, containing as well the names as the address of each member, to be always open for inspection.

That no member be allowed to speak twice in any discussion, except the mover of the original question, who shall have the right to reply; such reply to close the debate.

That during any discussion every member be seated, except the member addressing the chairman.

That the object of the foregoing resolutions is to prevent as much as possible any debate or discussion, but what must be absolutely necessary to ascertain the sense of each meeting.

That Saturday be the fixed day of meeting, subject to such adjournment as the Association may agree to.

That at least ten members must be in attendance in order to constitute a meeting of this Association.

That three o'clock in the afternoon be the fixed hour of all meetings; and that so soon as ten members are in attendance after three o'clock, the chair shall be immediately taken.

Treasurers and secretaries were appointed.

JOSEPH M'DONNELL, Chairman.

N. PURCELL O'GORMAN, Secretary.

No. XV.

Report on the Practicability of forming the New Catholic Association.—Agreed to at the Aggregate Meeting held 13th July, 1825.

Mr. O'Gorman here read the following Report of the Committee of twenty-one. Several of the passages were received with the most enthusiastic applause, but more particularly that part which unfolds "the plan of the NEW CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION."

The committee appointed by a general ballot to consider, in pursuance of the resolution of the last aggregate meeting, "whether there can be framed, without any violation of the existing laws, a permanent body to assist in the conducting or management of such portion of Catholic affairs as it may be by law permitted to have managed, without resorting to the too frequent holding of aggregate meetings, and in particular, without in any way infringing on a recent statute," have agreed to the following

REPORT.

The Committee have endeavoured anxiously to fulfil the duty imposed upon them. They have been deeply impressed, on the one hand, with the conviction, that the cause of the Catholics must retrograde, and the calumnious imputations of their enemies increase in number, power, and effect, unless there be some permanent body watching over Catholic interests, and taking care to maintain and preserve the station the Catholics have already attained, while it is not permitted to pro-

ceed further. And on the other hand, we were and are unalterably determined, not to suggest or advise any course which could with any degree of fair dealing or justice be deemed any, even the slightest, infringement on the law.—We are determined to obey a statute which we cannot respect, and to set to our countrymen the example of a dutiful and ready submission to that which is law—notwithstanding our conviction of the impolicy of its enactment. We have, in fact, lately received from our Protestant fellow-countrymen such support as requires our utmost gratitude, and such advice as commands our ready and respectful obedience. We allude in particular to the advice of the illustrious noblemen lately assembled in London. They have recommended to the Catholics *firmness, temperance, and union*. We place full and cordial confidence in them and in their counsels, and we are resolved to merit their patronage and protection, by the alacrity with which we ourselves submit at all times to the law of the land, and the zeal and activity which we shall ever display, to procure a similar submission from all classes of our countrymen.

With these impressions, we have come to the determination to recommend to the Catholics of Ireland to conduct their affairs in future in strict obedience to the law, by managing, by means of a permanent association, such portion thereof as has no reference to obtaining relief or redress, or any alteration of the existing code—but to reserve every thing that relates to petitioning for relief, or obtaining legal redress, or altering the existing code, to such separate or aggregate meetings of short

duration as shall be in strict conformity with the recent statute.

We therefore beg leave to lay before the public the following plan of a New Catholic Association, and to express our unanimous and fixed conviction that it will not in any wise violate or infringe upon any law or statute whatsoever.

PLAN OF A NEW CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

1st.—As it is desirable that the proposed New Catholic Association should combine Irishmen of all religious persuasions, it is expressly declared, that no person professing any of the forms of religious faith, allowed or tolerated by law, shall be excluded therefrom; but, on the contrary, Christians of all denominations are invited to become members thereof.

2d.—No member of the New Catholic Association shall be required to take any oath or make any declaration whatsoever.

3d.—To avoid the possibility of its being alleged, even by means of any perverse interpretation of the act of 6th Geo. IVth, chap. 4th, that the New Catholic Association can come within the provisions thereof, it is expressly declared, that the New Catholic Association shall not assume, or in any manner or by any means or contrivance exercise, the power of acting, for the purpose or under the pretence of procuring the redress of grievances in church or state, or the alteration of any matters by law established in church or state; or for the purpose, or under the pretence of carrying on, or

assisting in, the prosecution or defence of causes civil or criminal.

4th.—That the New Catholic Association shall not be composed of different divisions or branches, or of different parts acting in any manner separate or distinct from each other; and that there shall be no separate or distinct secretary, or delegate, or other officer elected or appointed by or for any particular part, or authorised to act for any particular part; neither shall the New Catholic Association communicate or correspond; neither shall its constitution contain any provision for communication or correspondence with any other society, committee, or body of persons; neither shall it, in any respect, act in any manner inconsistently with the said statute of the 6th Geo. IVth, chap. 4th.

5th.—The New Catholic Association can and may be formed merely for the purposes of public and private charity, and such other purposes as are not prohibited by the said statute of the 6th Geo. IVth, chap. 4th.

6th.—The first purpose of the New Catholic Association is, and shall be, that of promoting public peace and tranquillity, as well as private harmony and concord, amongst all classes of his Majesty's subjects throughout Ireland.

7th.—The second purpose of the New Catholic Association is, and shall be, the encouragement and extension of a liberal, enlightened, and religious system of education, founded on the basis of Christian charity and perfect fair dealing.

8th.—The third purpose of the New Catholic Association is, and shall be, that of ascertaining the number

of the population of Ireland, and the relative proportions which the professors of the various Christian persuasions bear the one to the other; and, in particular, to ascertain the number of children of each persuasion in a course of education.

9th.—The fourth purpose of the New Catholic Association is, and shall be, to devise the means of erecting suitable Catholic churches for the celebration of divine worship, and to procure and establish Catholic burial-grounds, wherein the Catholic dead may be interred, without being liable to any species of contumely or insult.

10th.—The fifth purpose of the New Catholic Association is, and shall be, to promote all improvements in science and in Irish agriculture, to encourage the consumption of Irish manufactures and the extension of Irish commerce.

11th.—The sixth purpose of the New Catholic Association is, and shall be, to encourage as much as possible a liberal and enlightened press, to circulate works calculated to promote just principles and mutual toleration and kindness, and to vindicate the principles of the Catholics against the unjust and slandering attacks daily made upon them.

12th.—The seventh purpose of the New Catholic Association will be, to procure a detailed statement of the various charges made against the Catholics in the petitions presented to parliament during the recent sessions, and to publish authentic refutations of such charges, in the places where they respectively originated.

13th.—That every person who shall think fit, on or before a day to be named, to pay the sum of one pound on his admission, shall be a member of the New Catholic Association; and, after that day, each person paying one pound, and procuring one member to propose and another to second him, shall also be a member.

The committee having thus stated affirmatively and negatively the limits within which the New Catholic Association can and ought to act, deem it their duty to call the attention of the Catholics in general to those provisions of the statute of the 6th Geo. IVth, chap. 4th, which must restrain the sphere of the New Catholic Association, and render it necessary for the Catholics in general to seek for redress and relief, through the medium of other meetings, and by the intervention of other instruments.

That most unconstitutional statute prohibits these two things—

First, The sacred right of petitioning for the redress of real and substantial grievances in the only mode likely to be successful; namely, by the intervention of a committee or association, of sufficient duration to be able to make useful, and in fact necessary arrangements.

Second, The right of such committee or association giving any pecuniary assistance to the poor and oppressed, in order to enable them to punish by due course of law their oppressors: it being obvious that without money there can be little prospect of being able to take the measures necessary to obtain redress from any legal tribunal.

Now, as the New Catholic Association cannot interfere in any way to procure redress from parliament or the courts of law; and as the Catholics certainly suffer the cruellest oppressions, and the most unjust exclusions from the undoubted rights of British subjects, it is incumbent on them to adopt other means altogether unconnected with the New Association, of preparing and presenting petitions to parliament, and also for preventing and punishing acts of individual oppression and of party insolence.

The petitions to parliament must of course be altogether unconnected with the New Catholic Association, and must originate with and be conducted by general or aggregate meetings; which, as the law now stands, may be continued by adjournment for fourteen days and no longer.

It is obvious that it would be impossible to arrange all the petitions necessary to be presented to parliament in the ensuing sessions, in one space of fourteen days.

It is advisable to have a petition presented from every parish in Ireland.

The country should be therefore taken separately by counties. There can, in point of law, be fourteen days given to each county, separately and distinctly; but the business of petitioning for each county must be conducted by general or aggregate meetings, unconnected with the New Catholic Association; and such general or aggregate meetings can continue to sit for the petitions of each county during fourteen days, according to the provisions of the statute.

Thus the New Catholic Association will have to

attend to details in Catholic affairs, consistent with the duration of our present grievances, and with an acquiescence in our present sufferings.

The separate or aggregate meetings must and will seek for the redress of grievances, and the alteration of those matters in church and state by which we are oppressed.

The committee further very earnestly recommend to the Irish people, to make the repeal of the said statute of the 6th Geo. IVth, chap. 4th, the first object of a petition to the legislature; and that such petition do state to the legislature the unconstitutional and oppressive nature of that statute, and expose to parliament the falsehood of the pretexts on which it was enacted.

The committee further beg leave to suggest, that in the management of the further petitions of the Catholics of Ireland, care be taken to have our claims for relief brought before parliament, and kept free from any extraneous matter or any details on subjects of any other description, we being convinced that the simple and single object of obtaining unconditional and unqualified relief from our disabilities, should be solely attended to, as well by the Catholics themselves as by their friends in parliament.

July 11th, 1825.

Gonville Ffrench, Chairman.

Gormanston

O'Connor Don

Killeen

Nicholas Mahon

Edward Preston

C. Macloghlin

John Burke

James John Bagott

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| Daniel O'Connell | Philip Fogarty |
| Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman | Michael Bellew |
| William Murphy | Stephen Coppinger |
| Michael O'Brien | George Bryan |
| Richard Sheil | Hugh O'Connor. |

The committee have further agreed to the following resolution:—

Resolved, that the committee of twenty-one gladly avail themselves of the present opportunity to return to Daniel O'Connell their marked thanks for the undiminished zeal and talent with which he has prepared the plan of a report for the formation of a new association.

No. XVI.

NEW CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

Dublin, Saturday, July 23.

DOWELL O'REILLY, Esq. in the Chair.

Mr. Conway was appointed Secretary to the meeting.

Mr. John Dillon presented the Report of the Committee of twenty-one, and proceeded to read the document, of which the following is a copy:—

REPORT.

The committee appointed to report upon rules and regulations to govern the New Catholic Association do report as follows:—

1st.—That the Report of the Committee of twenty-one, agreed to at the late aggregate meeting, be inserted on the minutes of this Association.

2d.—That in pursuance of the suggestions in the said report, we are a society formed and acting merely for the several purposes not prohibited by the 6th Geo. IVth, cap. 4th; and that our proceedings be governed by the following rules and regulations :—

3rd.—That such individuals as shall give in their names to the secretary on or before the first of Nov. next, and pay an annual subscription of one pound, be members of this Association; and that after that day, each person paying one pound, and proposed by one member and seconded by another, shall also be a member.

4th.—That a new subscription be payable on every first day of January in every year; and that any gentleman who shall be one month in arrear of his subscription, shall cease to be a member.

5th.—That no person (a gentleman of the press excepted) shall be allowed to be present at any meeting of this Association, without having paid the sum of one pound, as above required.

6th.—That all gentlemen of the press be at liberty to attend the meetings of this Association, on leaving their names with the secretary and obtaining tickets.

7th.—That no motion shall be debated at any meeting of this Association without one week's previous notice.

8th.—That ——— be appointed joint Treasurers to the Association.

9th.—That a committee of twenty-one be appointed a committee of finance and accounts.

10th.—That the Secretary do call an extraordinary meeting of the Association whenever required by a requisition, signed by at least twenty members.

11th.—That a Secretary and two honorary assistant Secretaries be appointed.

12th.—That every requisition for an extraordinary meeting, with the original signatures, be posted in the meeting room of the Association, and be entered in the book of proceedings, prior to the meeting convened.

13th.—That the purpose of each extraordinary meeting be signified in the requisition, and in the notice calling such meeting.

14th.—That the rules and regulations be posted in the meeting room of the Association.

15th.—That no expense on account of the Association be incurred, without an order of the Association expressive of the purpose; and that no money be paid by the Treasurer, save on an order signed by the acting Secretary, and at least three members of the committee of accounts.

16th.—That the proceedings of the Association, as well as the notices of motions, be entered in a book always open for inspection and reference, and that a book be also kept, containing the name and the address of each member, to be always open for inspection.

17th.—That the chairman do not receive any motion

or resolution, unless such motion or resolution be delivered to him in writing.

18th.—That no member have a right to speak twice in any discussion, except the mover of the original question, who shall have the privilege to reply; such reply to close the debate.

19th.—That no second amendment (except a motion to adjourn) be received until the first amendment shall have been disposed of.

20th.—That Wednesday be the fixed day of meeting, subject to such adjournment as the Association may agree to.

21st.—That at least ten members must be in attendance, in order to constitute a meeting of the Association.

22d.—That three o'clock in the afternoon be the fixed hour of all meetings, and that as soon as ten members are in attendance, after three o'clock, the chair shall be immediately taken.

That the Catholic clergy of Ireland be members of this Association.

No. XVII.

EXTRACTS FROM MONSIEUR DUVERGIER'S LETTERS
ON THE STATE OF IRELAND, 1826.*

LETTER II.

Meeting at Ballinasloe—Traces of the conquest—General agitation—Connaught—Meeting in a chapel—Portrait of Sheil—Irish Catholicity—Votes of thanks—Summary influence of the Catholic priesthood—Census of Waterford.

I assisted the 8th of October at the meeting at Ballinasloe, and the following observations were written the day after:—

To Hell or Connaught.—It is now more than one hundred years since Cromwell pronounced this dreadful denunciation, and it might be said, that it has ever since served as the rule of conduct which has animated and directed the measures of every constituted authority which has succeeded him. In Ireland as in France, after the invasion, as in England after the conquest, there were two nations, the conquerors, and the conquered; whom the progress of time would gradually have blended together, had not English policy exhausted every effort in keeping them perpetually asun-

* This talented gentleman, accompanied by the Duke of Montebello and the Messrs. Thayer (French Protestants), made a tour through the principal part of Ireland, shortly after the general election, 1826. The pamphlet from which this extract is translated was published on his return to Paris, and has since been most extensively circulated on the continent.

der. It is thus that the soil of that unfortunate country still continues to bear two races essentially distinct—the one which commands, the other which obeys ;—the one which reposes, the other which labours ;—the one which suffers, the other which enjoys. Except in some of the principal cities, in vain do you look for those intermediary classes, who are at once the strength and ornament of society. There is nothing between the master and the slave, between the cabin and the palace ; there is nothing between all the luxuries of existence, and the last degree of human wretchedness ; nothing, in fine, between the Englishman and the Irishman, the Protestant and the Catholic (for to this every thing resolves itself at last) ; and what is the last perfection of the evil, these distinctions are not as elsewhere the natural result of an inequality in the human faculties, or in the rights of property, but the growth of a bad and feeble policy : the conquest created them ; oppression has maintained them : and though, since the period of 1782, the Catholics have been permitted the right of acquiring land, yet forty years of imperfect toleration have not been sufficient altogether to efface the deeply-written traces of so long a period of political degradation. Nine-tenths of the landed property belongs to the English, to the Protestants ; and the Catholics, who have acquired or accumulated property by patient and personal exertions, are mere upstarts, whom they have a right to despise. As to the peasantry, they may think themselves well treated, if they are allowed to rank with the beasts of the field. But listen to the reasoning of the most liberal of these *landlords*, on what he is

pleased to term, the insurrection and revolt of the forty-shilling freeholders.* He cannot conceive it possible that they should possess a will, an opinion, a conscience of their own. Of what consequence was it that Lord George Beresford was the declared enemy of the Catholics? He was their lord and their master, and it was their bounden duty to return him to parliament. Besides, was it not for that express purpose he made them freeholders?† To drive them on to acts of disobedience, every way so criminal, was to burst asunder all the bonds of society, to break through every natural relation, and bring back upon earth the confusion and anarchy of chaos once again. It would be quite as reasonable to counsel the horse to rebel against the man.

Such is the reasoning to which I am compelled to listen almost every day; and all the arguments employed by the colonists of Martinique and Guadaloupe, when their negroes are in question, I find them here in mouths which, at the other side of the channel, are loudest in their exclamations of *No slave trade! No slavery!* There is, however, a right more sacred and important than any one of these, and of which no one has yet thought proper to deprive the Catholics of Ireland, and that is, the right of assembling and of discussing in public their own

* It is well known, that in the last election many of the freeholders voted against their landlords. It was thus that Lord George Beresford lost the representation of the county of Waterford.

† To constitute a freeholder in Ireland, it is sufficient to possess a life-interest of 40s. per annum; and this interest an acre, or half an acre is sufficient to confer. Hence the custom of planting freeholders, like trees, upon a property.

affairs. Thus what the 80,000 electors of France, the aristocracy of the country, would not think of attempting, here an oppressed caste actually effect, without the slightest fear or impediment whatsoever. Convened every day by the call of a free press, they are in motion at this moment over the surface of the entire country. There is not a county, nor a city, nor a borough, nor a parish, where there are not meetings, to address petitions to the new parliament, to pass votes of thanks to the forty-shilling freeholders, and what is still more to the purpose, to offer assistance and support to those very men whom their masters have, in consequence of their late conduct, unmercifully ejected from their holdings. O'Connell and Sheil fly from province to province, from meeting to meeting. Every where they are received with enthusiasm: every where their eloquent declamations rouse in the souls of the old Milesians the stern sense of their strength and their degradation. To enforce obedience, they require neither *gens d'armes* nor soldiers. A word of theirs is of more power than twenty decrees of the Lord Lieutenant; and the delegates of old England are compelled to tremble before two lawyers! Admirable fruit of this wise system of policy! Brilliant result of an administration which pretends to govern with the edge of the sword, and convert by the scourge of the law!

On the boundaries of Connaught, in the small town of Ballinasloe, there is held annually a fair, where 120,000 sheep and 40,000 horned cattle are brought to market. There the farmer of Connaught comes to sell, and the farmer of Leinster to buy; there, from the most distant

parts a crowd is assembled, as if for the holding of a general congress. The Catholics could not possibly choose a better season; nor a better theatre. If the ancient *Eryn* exists still in any part of the country, it is to be found in Connaught. Situated in the most remote part of Ireland, the last subdued, and at different periods assigned as a prison to the conquered population, this province, more than any other, has preserved its ancient religion, and even its ancient language. There, at an earlier period than in any other part of Ireland, was gradually formed a class of independent *gentry*,* whose belief and interests were strictly identified with those of the majority of the people. It is this gentry in particular who feel themselves aggrieved by the operation of the penal laws; and it was this class which yesterday were assembled in crowds at the meeting of Ballinasloe.—Emancipation—*full*, total, and unconditional emancipation, such is at present the unanimous cry of six millions of men. One would be inclined to say, that this single word contained within itself the panacea for all the sufferings of Ireland. For the Catholic proprietor, it signifies a place in parliament; for the lawyer, a silk gown;† for the poor, bread. In the midst of this fever of hope, the wise statesman well knows, that the effects of so many ages of oppression are not to be got rid of in a day; but he also knows, that without eman-

* The appellation of the country proprietors.

† The silk gown gives the barrister on whom the king thinks proper to confer such a distinction very many important privileges; for instance, that of being entitled to bring forward the cause in which he is engaged before any other counsel employed.

ipation nothing can be done ; and he gives all his support to every exertion which is calculated to obtain it. We are no longer in the times of helotism ; and to exist in peace, on the same soil, it is necessary that all should be in the full enjoyment of the same rights. In France, a child is capable of understanding this ; but in this country of England, in other particulars so enlightened, there are men who still continue to deny it. For the honour of their intellect, let us hope they are not sincere ; for the honour of their sincerity, let us hope . . . : but on them must depend the choice.

An old chapel, without any ornament, white-washed, and half in ruins ; before the altar a platform, rudely constructed ; on the left, a gallery for the men ; another for the women on the right ; on the platform, about two hundred country gentlemen, in a sort of morning dress, which is not without its pretension ; and in every other part of the chapel, a peasant population, of a savage aspect, and a picturesque costume : such was the singular spectacle which was first presented to me at the great meeting of Ballinasloe. After having called, as is customary, the most distinguished individual present to the chair, and chosen the most intelligent for secretary, the proceedings were opened ; the most profound silence prevailed on all sides ; and a series of *resolutions*, prepared the day before, were successively submitted to the opinion of the assembly. The recollections which I had of the country gentlemen of Lancashire gave me some reason to apprehend the eloquence of the country gentlemen of Connaught ; yet almost all of them expressed themselves with the utmost

warmth and facility. Whilst one of these speakers was engaged in deploring the long-continued perfidy of England, and recalling to the recollection of his auditors the menacing example of America, thunders of applause burst forth on a sudden from every quarter: every hat was waved over the head; and a piercing cry, the expression of joy amongst the Irish, shook the chapel to its very roof. It was *Mr. Sheil*, who had just appeared on the platform, and whose unexpected presence at the meeting produced this electric effect. Were I commissioned to take down the *signalement* of Mr. Sheil, this would be very nearly the result. *Five feet; eyes, quick and piercing; complexion, pale; chin, pointed; hair, dark:* and in adding, *mouth, middle-sized*, I flatter myself I should have given a description not to be excelled in exactness at the *bureau des passe-portes*. But this is the portrait of the *gentleman*; that of the *orator* is widely diverse. When you behold that little gascon figure in repose, it is impossible to suspect to what changes passion is capable of converting it. There is in Sheil something of Juvenal, of Pindar, and of Mirabeau. His satire is shrewd and biting; his poetry dazzles; his enthusiasm carries you away. When he flings forth his sarcasm, a bitter smile contracts his lips; when he threatens, his eyes dart forth lightnings; when he is under the dominion of poetical inspiration, they take an expression altogether sublime. His voice is meagre, harsh, and shrill; but a profound emotion seems to regulate its vibrations. His gesture is quick, abrupt, and rather disorderly; but it is always in perfect accord with such sentiments as he has to express. Sheil pos-

sesses, in an eminent degree, the surprising faculty of exerting himself to the very verge of delirium, without once losing his complete self-possession. I was at his side whilst speaking; and more than once I saw all his limbs tremble beneath him: a moment after he resumed the discussion, with not less composure than ingenuity. Like the English, whom in other particulars he so little resembles, Sheil is too fond of quotations. Certain passages in bad taste, it may also be observed, occasionally disfigure the best of his speeches; and in general it has been remarked, that in both elocution and diction, there is something too much of the theatre about him. These reproaches have some appearance of being well founded; and more than once, indeed, I imagined I had the figure of Kean actually before me; but then I must also add that Kean is a very admirable actor. In a word, I was seduced; I was dazzled; and together with me the whole assembly. During an entire hour, one single soul, that of the orator, seemed to animate this living mass; and from time to time you would have said, that an electric shock completely convulsed them. I never before assisted at so absolute a triumph.

Before Mr. Sheil, several orators had been heard with applause; after him, it would appear there was nothing more to be done than to remain silent. A young gentleman, however, of the neighbourhood, Mr. M'Dermott, still found means to keep up the attention of the meeting. What will the Bishop of Hermopolis say to the following propositions?—

1. The state should have no established religion. It should preserve its neutrality between them all.

2. Salvation is possible in all religions, provided you believe honestly and sincerely the religion you profess to be the best.

3. To attempt seizing on public education, with a view of converting it into a monopoly for any particular class or sect, is to disturb in a direct manner the order of society.

4. The spirit of proselytism is deserving of censure. Each creed or sect ought to remain quiet within its respective limits.

5. To keep the clergy virtuous, it is requisite to keep them poor. Make them rich, and you corrupt them.

These certainly are very abominable maxims, principles the most injurious and atheistical: philosophism has produced nothing more pernicious. Yet such are the very principles which the Catholics preach from Dublin to Galway, and from Derry to Bantry Bay; and as Catholicity is essentially *one*, I have good reason to presume, that until this moment we have been altogether ignorant of its doctrines. But this is not all; you may here laugh as much as you think proper at the Bible, provided you do so in attacking the Bible societies. Mr. Sheil has done so, more than once, and he is not less a favourite of the clergy in consequence. Voltaire himself, with this trifling precaution, would have soon become their *protégé*. They read in the meeting of yesterday a letter quite full of that mystical jargon, so much applauded in our modern seminaries. There was nothing but pious sighs, fervent acts of contrition, devout aspirations to Heaven, the whole seasoned with

comparisons, and figures, and tropes, borrowed from Holy Writ. At Paris, it would have been quoted as the sublime effusion of a tender and religious spirit; but as it was written by a minister of the established church, it was laughed at, at Ballinasloe, as an absolute model of hypocrisy and folly. In fine, Catholicity and Protestantism in this country seem altogether to have changed sides; the latter is dogmatical and intolerant, the former has suddenly become almost philosophical. Now this is an incarnation more extraordinary than all the incarnations of Vishnou; and hence it is, that it is not every one who is willing to give credit to the fact. Whatever may be the case, I should like to know how the Etoile will translate the following phrase of Mr. M'Dermott: "They talk to us without ceasing of Protestant ascendancy. This word ascendancy in a free state is what I cannot comprehend—and applied to Catholicity, I should feel as much horror of it, as I do at this moment when applied to Protestantism."

As no one was empowered to close the proceedings of the assembly, towards the end of the day we were obliged to endure the eloquence of four or five orators of the most interminable modesty. Each commenced his discourse by announcing that he would not abuse our patience, and each spoke for a full hour, lengthening their speeches by the frequent repetition of their intention to confine themselves within the limits of a few words. Three amongst them were called *princes*, for there are very few Irishmen who are not descended from two or three kings at the very least. Unfortunately, however, it was very easily perceived that

their Highnesses had not yet provided themselves with ministers qualified to prepare their speeches for the public. After this came the *votes of thanks*, which, as a matter of course, called for a return from those who had already been thus honoured. Language was inadequate to express their feelings, a circumstance which did not prevent them however from expressing them at great length. The forty-shilling freeholders were then thanked, and the orators, and the secretary, and the newspaper editors, and Lord Wellesley, and Mr. O'Connell, and the spectators, and for aught I know, the carpenter who was employed to erect the platform. At last came the turn of the chairman, and he was thanked with all the rest, for the very impartial and dignified manner with which he repeated about fifty times, "As many as are of opinion that the resolution should pass, will say 'Aye;' as many as are of the contrary opinion, will say 'No.'" It was now about seven o'clock, and thirty resolutions and a petition had been unanimously adopted. The Catholics of Connaught in quitting the chapel, sate down to a table, where, from health to health, and from speech to speech, the boldest amongst them continued till about four o'clock in the morning. During all this time the port wine did not for an instant cease to circulate, or the punch to flow. What pains one must take to obtain common justice!

A meeting cannot be supposed to be as dramatic as the day of an election. It is what a review may be imagined to be compared to a battle: but a review may at times give expressive evidence of many an important

particular. In the temple of a persecuted religion I saw assembled an immense multitude. I saw them shudder at the recital of their sufferings, burst forth at the mention of their oppressors, exult at the name of America and freedom. Under the control of their priests and orators, united, compact, firm, I saw them ready to rush on to the very first appeal which should call them forward. Has England then forgotten Boston? There is a lofty principle in human nature, which revolts against every species of constraint; and far from enfeebling by time, two centuries of unremitting persecution have only more and more contributed to render Catholicism national in Ireland. It may be a misfortune, but it is not less a fact, and it is a lesson which the history of all nations ought to have taught England already. The Irish peasantry have been reproached with being the slaves of their priesthood—who made them such? Enter their miserable cabin of mud, without a chimney, without a bed, without furniture of any kind, and behold the numerous family, who, laid pell-mell on the earth, have not even a mattress to lie on, or a blanket to cover their nakedness. With how many enemies, how many oppressors, is the inmate surrounded? There are, first, the middlemen, intermediary farmers, tyrants of the second order, made use of by the absentee proprietors to extort from the poor cultivator an exorbitant rent. Then comes the Protestant parson, with menaces and maledictions in his mouth, to extract his share also, from a subsistence scarcely sufficient for the bare wants of human nature. Of ten potatoes, one belongs to him—to *him*, who, minister of a hostile reli-

gion, knows only how to curse and insult, whom it is his duty and profession to aid and bless. Nor is this all. It is found necessary to build a new church or to repair the old. A meeting of Protestants is immediately convened—a tax, the church-rate, is passed, and this tax is instantly assessed on the miserable Catholic. Should he refuse to pay, or be unprovided with the means, his pig is immediately seized, and his ruin consummated without delay. In the midst of this organised system of plunder, this legal vampirism, the gentry in their turn come forward to claim their portion of the spoil. Assembled in grand juries, they pass presentments for roads, calculated only to improve the approaches to their own residences; and new tax-gatherers go through the cabins, where they are met by others appointed by the state. In this wretched situation appears a man who, clothed with a sacred character, brings with him wherever he goes the balms of a kindly consolation. He speaks in the name of God—he promises another and a better world—he points beyond the tomb to a state of happiness without change or alloy, as the price and recompence of so much human endurance and resignation. How is it possible that such a man should not be listened to? This man moreover is not a stranger: he is a brother—he is a friend. Born in the cabin himself, he is deeply, he is painfully alive to all its privations: he is, farther, poor—he is Irish—he is oppressed; and human sympathy adds a new force and sanction to the divine word. Once more I ask, how is it possible that such a man should not be listened to?

Let no one then be surprised at the progress of Catholicity in Ireland. To renounce it, is not only to change religion : it is to change country ; the same word, Sassenach, designates at once the Englishman and the Protestant. At the meeting of Ballinasloe Mr. Sheil read an extract from a census which has lately been completed in the county of Waterford. There are 10,000 Protestants, and 230,000 Catholics. Such figures are more eloquent than all the reasoning in the world. Yet such is the feeble minority who pretend to retain for themselves exclusively all power. Such is the faction who, by unjust enactments, irritating speeches, by public processions, oppress, and brave at the same time, an entire nation.

This is a state of things which cannot possibly endure : it must terminate some way or other, either by a legislative enactment or by open violence ; and, to adopt the words of an enlightened statesman, “ The degradation of the Catholics in England is a crime : in Ireland it is more, it is a crime and an error.”

LETTER III.

Alarm of the Orangemen—Speech of the Duc de Montebello—English magnanimity—Egotism of the Catholics—The Association—Portrait of O’Connell, Lawless, Wyse, Æneas M’Donnell—Speech of O’Connell—Power of the Association—Orange blunder.

A little smoke on the side of Mount Vesuvius is sufficient to alarm the inhabitant of Portici ; and the

Irish Orangeman thinks himself exposed to certain destruction the moment he hears murmurs of toleration, liberty, and above all, of revolution. At these dreadful words, though pronounced by chance, his frame becomes agitated, his countenance disturbed, and the disorder of his whole person betrays the secret of his weakness. The following is a recent example. One of our countrymen, the Duc de Montebello, assisted at the meeting of Ballinasloe. Flattered at having a peer of France the witness of their energetic reclamations to the legislature, the Catholics of Connaught honoured him with a vote of thanks, to which he replied by the expression of every wish for the success of their cause. This is a circumstance of almost daily occurrence in England. In Ireland, however, the case is different; simple as it was, it was instantly converted into a matter of state. The Catholics rejoiced at it as at an object of the first importance, and the government was sufficiently absurd to evince indications of alarm. More than one meeting of the privy council was held in Dublin to deliberate on the dangers which might be apprehended by their party. Protestant meetings took place, where the speakers held forth in great detail on treason, imprisonment, and even on the scaffold. In the interval the papers were not backward. One denounced to the public execration, "the son of one of the chiefs of that sanguinary horde, whom France, in the days of her Atheism, had vomited forth upon the rest of Europe;" another converted him into "the emissary of the Jesuits at Rome;" and a third called for the peremptory execution of the *Alien Bill*, forgetting that its provisions had

long since expired. The grave "Connor" discovered in the speech of the Duc de Montebello "the cloven foot of foreign invasion;" and the "John Bull," with a delicacy peculiarly aristocratic, reproached him with not having a rental of 8,000*l.* a year, thus calling in the aid of one prejudice against another. All, in fine, dreamt that Ireland was in flames; and the "Times" itself, the wise and sagacious Times, sent his *Grace* to conspire with Mr. Sheil against the Protestant religion and the House of Hanover. In the midst of this powerful empire of Great Britain were already exhibited all those paltry little fears, all those miserable suspicions, all those disgraceful agonies of apprehension, which are worthy only of the Lombard-Austrian government—just punishment of intolerance and persecution! It is already for the oppressed a beginning of vengeance.

Yet, after all, what was this extraordinary speech, at once jesuitical and seditious, diplomatic and incendiary, which shook to its centre the British empire, and forced to tremble on its base, the glorious, pious, and immortal statue of the great and good King William? I will give you the original.

"Were I an Irishman, I should endeavour to render myself deserving of the honour which you have just conferred upon me, by making every exertion in my power for the support and advancement of your cause. But, stranger as I am, what can I offer beyond the simple expression of my most ardent wishes for your welfare and deliverance? It is a consoling thing to meet with men amongst whom the words of justice and toleration are not yet become mere empty sounds. Of such

men there are many in France. And how is it possible we should be insensible to your sufferings—we who, delivered within a few years from our bondage, have not yet forgotten the period when we yet struggled for our delivery? We have at last conquered our civil and religious liberties; we have conquered them, by that glorious revolution, so little understood by those whose eyes are only open to its excesses; and though Catholics, for the greater part, if to-morrow Protestantism were attacked in any of its rights or privileges, to-morrow also would we rise up against the encroachments of Catholicism, with the same spirit and energy with which you rise up to-day against those of the church established. Permit me then to wish you, in the name of liberal France, a speedy and total emancipation. By perseverance in your present efforts you cannot fail to obtain it, and I cannot suppose that the admirable constitution of England will for ever allow itself to be dishonoured by the political helotism of six millions of subjects.”

Such sentiments contain nothing but what is noble and generous. Expressed in the North of England, they would have been passed over as perfectly harmless, the *Courier* would have said nothing, and they would have been eulogised by the *Times*; but they were pronounced and eulogised in Ireland, and the moment that Ireland is in question, the English altogether lose their heads. Even when it becomes the subject of conversation amongst the more enlightened, they always speak of it in the pride of a conqueror in the *naïveté* and frankness of a master who goes back to the times of the Henrys and the Cromwells. In their eyes the claims

in question are not *rights*, but *boons* and *favours*. They are high and puissant lords, feudal *Suzerains*, who graciously condescend to emancipate their serfs. It is really amusing to witness the tone of lofty indignation, with which they exclaim against whatever has the appearance of demand. "Pray," cry they, "beg—but do not threaten. Pray!—we are *Englishmen*, and full of magnanimity! See with what courtesy we treat the addresses of your brethren in England. It is true, indeed, that no portion of their petitions has yet been granted, whilst your insurrections appear to have procured for you some important rights; but if our gracious condescension has singled you out as the especial object of our favour, during the war in America, and the French revolution, and your own rebellion, be assured that chance, mere chance was the cause of this remarkable coincidence. With regard to the Catholics of England, we delay our favours, with a view only of rendering them more conspicuous. Pray, therefore, entreat, supplicate, and in due time—why, in due time,—we shall see." In the opinion of others, the Catholics are too numerous to be emancipated without the most imminent danger to the state. Instead of being seven to one as they now are, if they were only one to seven, the case would be entirely altered. In England, on the contrary, the opposite argument is put forward. The Papists there form a feeble minority, and it is universally admitted that in every instance the minority should bow to the majority. Read over in addition to all this, the evidence taken in 1825 by the House of Commons. You will there find in several places that it is perfectly false,

that the question of emancipation agitates the country ; “ for, if the Catholic priests and gentry were only willing, they might without the least difficulty blot out all recollection or anxiety for the measure from the minds of the people.” Unfortunately, however, neither priests nor gentlemen are quite so complaisant. Instead of nobly eulogising the staff which strikes them, they have such little generosity in their composition as to declare that they are deeply sensible of its inflictions, and go so far as to exhibit to the public the very marks of the blows they have received. What incredible egotism ! and how well such men deserve the innumerable contumelies which the English press continually heaps upon them ! Their conduct recalls that animal of which a traveller has thus concluded the description : “ He is so furious, that he will defend himself if you attempt to kill him.”

At the head of these disloyal subjects, these criminal agitators, stands the Catholic Association, a numerous and powerful body, where all the friends of religious liberty are invited to take their seats. Its history is singular enough. Founded about five years ago, it had already acquired a formidable portion of political power, when last session parliament decided upon its suppression. It was alleged to be an *imperium in imperio*. Accordingly, Mr. Canning and Mr. Peel, Lord Eldon and Mr. Plunkett, entered into a coalition against it ; and a bill, in fifteen long paragraphs, decreed its dissolution. Six months afterwards it reappeared. If the act of parliament annihilates it as a political association, what prevents it from reviving as an association for the promotion of education ? A clause in the bill formally

prohibits them from levying money for the purpose of carrying on judicial proceedings; but a subscription to assist the poor cannot be considered as a violation of the law. In a word, if they cannot assemble for more than fourteen days in continuation, for the purpose of discussing and voting petitions to parliament, they can dissolve the meeting at the precise termination of these fourteen days, and the next week convene another. Of all these means to defeat the provisions of the bill, not one has been neglected; and the profound wisdom of parliament has produced no other result than the revival of the old Association; so difficult is it in England to attack the right of meeting and petition: a sacred right; an imprescriptible right; the best pledge and substitute for so many others. France has yet some lessons to take from her neighbours.

The Association holds its meetings in an oblong hall, surrounded with benches, and arranged nearly in the same manner as the House of Commons. The first time I entered it, I saw on his legs a man of about fifty years of age; who, with his hand in his bosom, seemed throwing out his opinion in a negligent manner to about three hundred persons, who were listening with the greatest attention around him. This man was O'Connell, *the glory of Kerry and the pride of Munster*. In his person he is tall; his appearance is imposing; his countenance full of frankness and keenness, though somewhat bordering on the vulgar; and when he speaks, his physiognomy, as changeable as his imagination, expresses, in two minutes, twenty different passions. There is no sort of study either in his gesture or lan-

guage. With him, one feels one's thoughts gradually spring upward, and develop of themselves; they seem to take, as he proceeds, if I may use the expression, the clothing of a tangible and visible form; and words, gesture, accent, all are produced at once, and by a single and simple effort of the will. If he threatens, his entire figure seems ready to follow the defiance, which he hurls against the power of England; if he indulges in a trait of humour, before it is yet upon his lips an expansive gaiety already radiates from all his features. I know of no living orator who communicates so thoroughly to his audience the idea of the most profound and absolute conviction. Between his eloquence and that of Sheil's there is not less difference than between their persons. The first, more classic, is all calculation; the second, more popular, is—inspired.

Sheil is a dramatic author. To him, a speech is a piece got up for mere display, meditated and prepared for many days before, and at length sent forth to the admiration of the public, much in the same way as if it were a tragedy. To O'Connell it is a conversation, sublime or familiar, according to the exigencies or feelings of the day. In preparing himself beforehand, the former can rouse the souls of his auditors without in any degree travelling beyond mere generalities. The latter requires some peculiar circumstance to impel him forward; some local or momentary interest to excite him. Sheil, in fine, is the brilliant man, the show man; O'Connell, the man of business of the Association. Though a lawyer in the first business in Dublin, he is always the first and the last at these meetings; he runs

thither on quitting the Four Courts; and if by chance he be delayed upon the way, no one thinks of taking his place. It is he who brings forward all motions, who directs the discussion, and who carries every question which he thinks proper to propose. When he rises, there is an immediate silence upon all sides; when he sits down, and has ceased speaking, the room resounds with peals of applause; and when he retires, the Association seems to retire also. What modesty, in the nature of things, could continue proof against the influence of such a situation?

O'Connell's has completely yielded to the temptation; and where his enemies can discover little more than a factious ambition, there is nothing after all but a little vanity. Popularity, an inordinate love of popularity, is his ruling passion: he is its absolute slave: if he were to lose it, he would instantly die. With the exception of an ardent attachment to his country, I do not think him in other particulars a man of very steady principles. He praises in the same breath Bolivar and the Holy Alliance, Napoleon and the Bishop of Hermopolis. James II. to-day appears to him a god, to-morrow a tyrant. He thunders against the Biblical societies, and raises to the skies the missionaries of France: he declares himself the champion of the sovereignty of the people; and, at the same time, of divine right. In a word, as has been justly observed, there are in him eight or nine different men, who are not always of the same opinion, but who combine together to curse the oppression of the penal laws, and to detest the oppressors of Ireland. The secret and real leaning,

however, of O'Connell's mind, I believe to be towards the ancient monarchy, with all its titles, and orders, and gewgaws of every description. When, in 1821, George IV. came to Dublin, the Irish patriot was a faithful dancer of attendance in the ante-chamber of the monarch; and that green riband, which, as chief of the order of the liberators, he continues to wear about his neck, notwithstanding the raillery of the entire country, is a sufficient evidence of the same weakness. Under certain points of view, O'Connell may be considered the Chateaubriand of Ireland. Like that great writer, he appears intoxicated with his own phrases. From constantly descanting on religion, he has at last become religious himself. In all his speeches you find traces of the man of the good old times. What always proves the subject of the greatest excitation, is the *Emerald Isle*, with its gothic towers, and still more gothic recollections. He weeps at the names of the great *Dublachtah*, *Flabhertah*, *Bryan Boromhe*, magnanimous Princes, who, before the invasion of the English, constituted the happiness and glory of Ireland; and in our modern times, the only person who enjoys the privilege of affecting him, is the Catholic priest. Between such ideas and ours there is little or no coincidence; and yet, notwithstanding all this, I defy any man to hear O'Connell without experiencing the most profound emotion. Such is the astonishing power of an eloquence proceeding from the sources of true feeling. For some minutes it bears you away from yourself.

There is not in the ideas of O'Connell so much order as abundance; one would imagine that in their exer-

tion to escape, and the disorder produced by this interior combat, he had not the power of mastering them. They are young recruits, as yet ill disciplined ; but in return, what courage, what vigour, what impetuosity ! Known personally to the Irish peasantry, and living with them a great portion of the year, he has something about him of their manners, their language, and even of their accent. You should see him with his cravat loose, and waistcoat unbuttoned, in a chapel in Munster. He boasts of the beauty of Ireland, the delights of her vallies, the loveliness of her hills, and above all, of the incontestable superiority of her inhabitants above those of every other quarter of the globe : and if, by chance, he should in the slightest degree touch on “ *the children of your bosom,*” or “ *the wives of your affection,*” you instantly see tears of joy sparkle in every eye. He does not, however, pretend to know any thing beyond Ireland. He lends an eloquent voice to the sentiments, the passions, and even to the prejudices, of six millions of men. That is all. Hence his extreme popularity ; hence, also, his numerous contradictions and inconsistencies. But his contradictions, if I may so speak, are national ; his inconsistencies patriotic. Of what consequence is it to the people that he does not say the same things to them to-day that he did yesterday, provided that they always hear what pleases them most ? What the people want is emancipation : to obtain it he would go from heaven to hell : he would become a tory or a radical, a loyalist or a rebel, without a suspicion for a moment that he had been changing sides. O’Connell is of the people. He is a glass in which Ireland may

see herself completely reflected ; or, rather, he is Ireland himself. He has been compared to an inspired peasant. It may be so, but that peasant, if he wished it, might have a million of others at his back.

I intended to have spoken of the Association, and I have spoken only of O'Connell. There is some reason for this ; it is because it lives in this extraordinary man altogether, and entire. Let us, however, cast a *coup d'œil* on a few others of its members. There is *Jack Lawless* at the end of the table. Friend of Cobbett, and head of the opposition, he always rises immediately after O'Connell, and seldom without attacking him. He is about fifty ; and his countenance recalls that of the actor Lepeintre, though characterised by a greater degree of energy, and by features much more marked and decided. In his snarling and cavilling humour, he strikes without discernment, but sometimes he strikes home ; and his bluntness and frankness have acquired him partisans. He is the greatest opponent of the *glory of Kerry*. At the side of Sheil I see *Mr. Wyse*, a man of *esprit*, good sense, and talent. For the loftiness of his views, the extent of his information, and the justice of his conceptions, he is far above all those who surround him ; and one day, perhaps, his popularity will suffer in consequence. Near him is a person of a very different description, *Mr. Æneas M'Donnell*, agent of the Catholics in London. With what transport is he applauded when he asserts that the Catholic religion has never persecuted ! Gifted with a Herculean constitution, and lungs of iron, he has moreover declared himself the avowed enemy of

the Biblicals. He pursues them from county to county ; harasses them from meeting to meeting ; and compels them, in their own despite, to listen. At Ballinasloe, he spoke for eighteen hours in three days ; and had he not been interrupted by the police, it is not unlikely he would have continued speaking to this very hour. He it was whom I heard exclaim on one occasion :—"They accuse Catholicity of being contrary to liberty. Contrary to liberty ! the religion of Montesquieu, of Bossuet, of Richelieu, contrary to liberty ! What an atrocious calumny !" You will not find such passages in the speeches of *Mr. Wyse*.

Having thus made myself acquainted with the orators, I was now prepared to follow the course of the discussion. But of what interest to us are the quarrels of *Mr. Bric*, or of *Mr. Lawless* ; the invective or eulogy lavished on *Lord Wellesley* ; the augmentation or diminution of the salary of *Mr. M'Donnell* ? The Catholics lose too often a great deal too much of their time in these idle discussions, and the frequency of their meetings is the real cause. By repeating day after day the same things, men at last cease to feel them ; and I am quite sure that *O'Connell*, from so constantly declaiming on the miseries of Ireland, is no longer susceptible of the same high excitement which he felt some two or three years ago. He rises to speak for the fourth time to-day. His speech is an absolute manifesto against England ; an open declaration of war against the parliament of the united kingdoms. "In vain," cries he, "they enact their laws against us : these laws we will brave ; and the Catholics of Ireland will never cease

their meetings until emancipation shall be fully granted them. We petitioned last year with the greatest humility for the restoration of our rights, the British senate; the British senate refused our prayer: this year we call for emancipation; full, total, entire, without condition or qualification whatsoever. We no longer supplicate: we demand. We are told that such are not the means by which we are to succeed; and I answer, such are the means; and there are no others. In the hour of prosperity England has constantly rejected with scorn our most dutiful supplications; in the hour of adversity only has she deigned to listen to our prayer. Let us hope, then; for she suffers:—let us hope; for bankruptcy is at her door:—let us hope; for she is humbled.” When slaves can express themselves thus, there are yet grounds for hope.

The Association is violently attacked, and at times with justice. Open to the whole world, existing only on the passions of the country, recruited from the bosom of a population for centuries in bondage, it cannot but contain within itself a large portion of ignorance, fickleness, and dishonesty. The leaders themselves are confined within too narrow a circle; you would almost say their ideas cannot extend beyond the limits of Ireland. Beyond it, they see nothing, they understand nothing; and instead of boldly associating themselves and their cause with all that is liberal in Europe, it too frequently happens that they speak exclusively as Catholics; and as Catholics, exclusively consider themselves aggrieved. To all these defects I am fully sensible, and yet I am of opinion that the Association is decidedly of advantage

to the country. It rallies the friends of religious freedom: it keeps up in the people a due feeling of their rights; forces Catholicity to proclaim the principles of toleration; fatigues and alarms England; and rouses the lower classes from that degrading apathy, from which they have risen but once or twice in a century, to rush into acts of the most atrocious vengeance. In the month of November, the Catholic Association realised per day £50 sterling; and already more than one Orange landlord, who was prepared to eject in mass his unfortunate tenantry, has been obliged to draw back in alarm before it. In a word, it is a species of new parliament, which really represents, and is the organ of, seven millions of men; levies taxes, dictates ordinances, and sends whomever it thinks proper to the House of Commons. The spirit of the priesthood, I repeat it, has too much influence within its circle; but in face of a church, haughty, intolerant, and burning with the spirit of proselytism, it scarcely can be otherwise. The Biblicals are the missionaries of Ireland; and whilst the one are escorted by fifty soldiers to Brest, the others support, by the eloquent arguments of their bayonets, their pious predications at Ballinasloe. Unfortunately, in this rebellious age, the sword has not, in religious matters, all the influence which it ought; nor does it turn away a greater number from Catholicity at Ballinasloe than it brings back to its fold at Brest. From time to time, however, the Protestant papers are very vociferous on the subject of a few conversions, bought by weight of gold, or obtained through the agonies of hunger; but the moment the fever appears, the Catholic

priest is immediately recalled. One of these conversions was lately announced in the following terms:—
 “We feel a lively satisfaction in announcing that two Catholics have just abjured the errors of the church of Rome, to embrace those of the church established.”
 The clergy, it is said, were by no means disposed to smile at the blunder.

No. XVII.

CATHOLIC CENSUS.

I.—*Census Returns from the Diocese of*

| | Parishes returned. | R. Catholics. | Not R. C. |
|---------------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------|
| Ardfert and Aghadse | 15 | 103,745 | 2,249 |
| Achonry . . . | 2 | 10,780 | 101 |
| Armagh . . . | 10 | 47,695 | 26,395 |
| Ardagh . . . | 11 | 55,447 | 5,255 |
| Clonfert . . . | 4 | 22,582 | 1,129 |
| Clogher . . . | 7 | 42,424 | 16,184 |
| Cork . . . | 8 | 54,726 | 6,873* |
| Cashel . . . | 23 | 119,519 | 4,388 |
| Cloyne . . . | 36 | 147,996 | 6,556 |
| Dromore . . . | 3 | 11,051 | 5498 |
| Down (Aughagallow) | 1 | 2,319 | 2,473 |
| Dublin . . . | 6 | 31,914 | 7,174† |
| Derry . . . | 8 | 40,901 | 18,894 |
| Elphin . . . | 25 | 169,514 | 10,483 |

* The city not included, nor any principal town except Bandon.

† Only one parish of the city included, Michael and John's.

| | Parishes returned. | R. Catholics. | Not R. C. |
|----------------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------|
| Ferns . . . | 5 | 28,723 | 3,487 |
| Galway . . . | 2 | 5,991 | 140 |
| Kildare and Loughlin | 14 | 98,206 | 12,078 |
| Kilmacduagh and Kil- | | | |
| fenora . . . | 4 | 14,854 | 69 |
| Killaloe . . . | 11 | 69,606 | 3,732 |
| Kilmore . . . | 5 | 32,384 | 10,520 |
| Killala . . . | 1 | 2,638 | 12 |
| Limerick . . . | 3 | 20,246 | 1,040* |
| Meath . . . | 27 | 117,090 | 8,325 |
| Ossory . . . | 20 | 123,770 | 5,842† |
| Tuam . . . | 11 | 57,995 | 1,153 |
| Waterford . . . | 37 | 233,553 | 10,102 |
| | | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | | 1,665,669 | 170,152 |
| of Limerick 1 | | 4,913 | 420 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | 300 | 1,670,582 | 170,572 |

II.—*Details of the Census of the united Dioceses of
Waterford and Lismore.*

| | | |
|----------------------------------|---------|--------|
| County of Waterford . . . | 131,353 | 2,996 |
| City of Waterford, and Liberties | | |
| south of the Suir . . . | 28,250 | 4,121 |
| County of Tipperary . . . | 71,829 | 3,025 |
| County of Cork . . . | 386 | 7 |
| Total Population of the Dio- | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| cese . . . | 231,818 | 10,149 |

* This includes but one parish of the city.

† Including but one parish of the city of Kilkenny.

| | R. Catholics. | Not R. C. |
|--|---------------|-----------|
| Adding to the county and city as above | 159,603 | 7,117 |
| One townland of the county Waterford, not included in the united dioceses | 303 | 5 |
| The total population of the county and city is | 159,906 | 7,122 |
| Being in the proportion of more than <i>twenty-two</i> Catholics to every <i>one</i> of other persuasions. | | |

III.—*Comparison of the number of Catholics and Protestants in England in the time of William III.*

See Memoirs of Sir James Dalrymple, vol. ii. Appendix, part ii. p. 12.

NUMBER OF FREEHOLDERS IN ENGLAND.

| | Conformists. | Non-Conf. | Papists. |
|---------------------------|--------------|-----------|----------|
| Province of Canterbury | 2,123,362 | 93,151 | 11,878 |
| York | 353,892 | 15,525 | 1,978 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | 2,477,254 | 108,676 | 13,858 |
| Conformists | 2,477,255 | | |
| Non-Conformists | 108,676 | | |
| Papists | 13,856 | | |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 2,599,786 | | |

Proportion of Conformists to Non-

Conformists $22\frac{4}{5}$ to 1

Conformists to Papists $178\frac{10}{13}$

Conformists and Non-Conformists
to Papists $186\frac{2}{3}$

In the Province of Canterbury there were 23,740

Papists. Thus divided :—

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| Under 16 . . . | 11,870 |
| Aged above 60 . . | 3,391 |
| Women . . . | 4,239 |
| Men fit to bear arms | 4,239 |

In the Province of York there were 3,956 Papists.
Thus divided :—

| | |
|----------------------|-------|
| Under the age of 16 | 1,978 |
| Aged above 60 . . | 565 |
| Women . . . | 701 |
| Men fit to bear arms | 701 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|
| Total of Papists in England . . . | 27,696 |
| Men fit to bear arms | 4,940 |

From the schedule of the same document it appears that in the diocese of Worcester, where the disproportion is the least, the Papists are to the Protestants as 1 to $52\frac{1}{7}$.

In that of Litchfield and Coventry as 1 to $79\frac{1}{5}$.

In that of London as 1 to $127\frac{1}{3}$.

In that of Ely as 1 to $2208\frac{1}{3}$.

These returns are taken from an official return found in the iron chest of King William. They do not furnish a very strong justification of the coercive measures adopted during his reign.

The British Catholics scattered in England, Scotland, and Wales, now amount to about 1,000,000, though some returns make them much lower. The counties in England containing the greatest number of Catholics are, Lancashire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Cheshire, Northumberland, Durham, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent. The Catholic population of the

metropolis and its immediate neighbourhood has been estimated at about 200,000.

IV.—CENSUS OF RELIGIOUS SECTS.

1. CHRISTIANS.

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Roman Catholics | 100,000,000 |
| Greek and Eastern churches | 36,000,000 |
| Protestant, Lutheran, and Calvinistic churches | 50,000,000 |

2. JEWS.

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Basnage states the Jews at about | 3,000,000 |
|--|-----------|

3. MAHOMEDANS.

Of the various tribes of persons following the doctrine of Islamism, about 143,000,000

4. HINDOOS AND OTHER PAGANS 468,000,000

| | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| Total | 800,000,000 |
|-----------------|-------------|

In England, Ireland, and Wales, the number of religionists of various sects and denominations may be estimated nearly as follow :—

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 1. Church of England * | 5,000,000 |
| 2. Roman Catholics † | 5,400,000 |
| 3. Presbyterians, who are (in England) chiefly Unitarians, Arians, and General Baptists | 60,000 |

* The number of livings in England and Wales is above 10,500.

† In England and Wales there are about 300,000, of whom 5000 are in London. There are upwards of 900 Catholic churches and chapels in England.

| | |
|---|---------|
| 4. Quakers and Moravians . . . | 60,000 |
| 5. Wesleyan Methodists* . . . | 500,000 |
| 6. Baptists, of various kinds, exclusive of General Baptists . . . | 60,000 |
| 7. Independents, including the Whit- fieldians and other Calvinistic Me- thodists . . . | 110,000 |
| 8. Swedenborgians . . . | 20,000 |
| 9. Miscellaneous minor sects . . . | 15,000 |
| 10. Resident Jews . . . | 15,000 |
| 11. Deists, Theophilanthropists, and other Freethinkers . . . | 25,000 |

V. 1.—PROTESTANTS UNDER CATHOLIC
PRINCES IN AUSTRIA.

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----------|
| In the country below the Ems . . . | 4,300 |
| Above the Ems . . . | 24,700 |
| In Styria . . . | 2,500 |
| In Illyria . . . | 17,000 |
| In Bohemia . . . | 50,000 |
| In Moravia . . . | 68,000 |
| <hr/> Total in Austria . . . | 166,500 |
| In Bavaria . . . | 1,100,000 |
| In Saxony . . . | 1,420,000 |
| In Anhalt Coethen . . . | 34,000 |
| <hr/> In all . . . | 2,720,500 |

In the two principalities of Hohenzollern, and in that of Lichtenstein, there are very few Protestants.

* The Wesleyan Methodists, "all over the world," exclusive of the *new connexion*, and some others, amounted in 1820 to nearly 486,000.

2.—CATHOLICS UNDER PROTESTANT PRINCES.

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------|
| In Prussia | 3,250,000 |
| Hanover | 250,000 |
| Wurtemberg | 470,000 |
| Baden | 800,000 |
| Hesse Cassel | 106,000 |
| Hesse Darmstadt | 165,000 |
| Holstein-Lauenburg | 1,000 |
| Luxemburg | 285,000 |
| Saxe-Weimar Eisenach | 10,000 |
| Saxe-Meiningen | 300 |
| Saxe-Altenburg | 100 |
| Saxe-Coburg Gotha | 200 |
| Brunswick | 2,500 |
| Mecklenburg Schwerin | 1,000 |
| Mecklenburg Strelitz | 60 |
| Oldenburg | 75,000 |
| Nassau | 150,000 |
| Anhalt Dessian and Bunburg | 100 |
| Hesse Homburg | 5,000 |
| Frankfort | 6,000 |
| Hamburg | 5,000 |
| Total | 5,580,200 |

In the dominions of the two houses of Schwartzburg, of the Princes of Reuss Lippe, Delmold, and Schaumburg Weldeck, and in Bremen and Lubeck, there are very few Catholics.

No. XIX.

IRISH EDUCATION.

Ireland is said at an early period, to have been the centre of the education of Europe. Bede, William of Malmsbury, Camden, &c. bear ample testimony to her intellectual superiority. Her scholars were known and celebrated over the continent. The Universities of Paris, Pavia, Oxford, Cambridge, &c. are said to have been founded by Irishmen. The University of Dublin, which is generally ascribed to Elizabeth, was commenced by Joannes Leclurs, under the auspices of Clement, and afterwards completed by Alexander Bignor, Archbishop of Dublin, in 1329, with the approbation of Pope John XXII. But the convent and College of Mayo enjoyed a much higher degree of reputation. It was founded about 665, and was exclusively dedicated to the education of strangers. Though in a remote part of Ireland, it contained at one time no less than two thousand English, foreign monks, and students. The son of Alfred is reckoned amongst the number. His ashes are said to repose amongst its ruins.

At the Reformation, no less than one thousand literary institutions, connected in general with monastic establishments, were destroyed. But instruction was not quite extinguished. This achievement was reserved for the penal laws.

What had not been effected by the confiscations of

James, the faithlessness of Charles I., the ingratitude of Charles II., with the uninterrupted civil wars which their tyranny and misrule had brought in their train, was finally accomplished by the anti-education code which immediately followed the conquest of William of Nassau.

The 7th of William and Mary, c. 4., enacted that, "no person of the Popish religion should publicly teach a school under a penalty of 20*l.*, and three months imprisonment. The child who went abroad for education, forfeited all the goods, chattels, and lands, to which he might become entitled by inheritance. The father who sent him, incurred the same forfeiture."

In 1730, Primate Boulter suggested the system of Charter schools: the objects had in view are best explained in his own words. "I can assure you," says he, "the Papists are here so numerous, that it highly concerns us, in point of interest, as well as *out of concern for the salvation of these poor creatures, who are our fellow-subjects, to try all possible means to bring them and theirs over to the knowledge of the true religion*; and one of the most likely methods we can think of is, if possible, instructing and converting the young generation; for instead of converting those that are adult, we are daily losing many of our meaner people, who go off to Popery."—Yet the Penal code had now endured for fifty years.

The system sketched by Boulter was filled up in 1734. The anti-Catholic schools started into existence. A Baron Vryhouver bestowed upon them 56,000*l.*; an anonymous benefactor gave them 40,000*l.*; certain estates

were bequeathed to them by the Earl of Ranelagh; and they got bequests from many other persons. They received also in addition to these funds, in Parliamentary grants, upwards of one million; and their total expenditure in ninety years, is stated by the Commissioners of education themselves, in their late report, to have exceeded 1,600,000*l*.!

The benefits resulting from these institutions were by no means commensurate with the enormous expenses which they entailed. From the very outset they were scenes of the most shocking enormities; yet, though chancellors, bishops, and judges successively acted as their governors, no inquiries seem to have taken place into the existence of these abuses, until the year 1787. In that year, in consequence of the urgent representations of the benevolent Howard, a Committee of investigation was appointed by the Irish House of Commons. The result of this inquiry was important. It was ascertained, that in the whole of these establishments, instead of 2,100 children, the number stated by the society to be maintained, not more than 1,400 could actually be produced. Mr. Howard was examined by the committee, and he stated among other things, that many of the schools were much out of repair, and going to ruin: that the children were neither well clothed, well fed, nor well taught; that some of them that were at Santry school, and who had previously been six years at that of Bally Castle, could not read; and that what he called "the *dreadful* situation of the schools," prevented their being filled. "The children in general," he stated, were sickly, pale, and such miserable objects, that they

were a disgrace to all society, and their reading had been neglected for the purpose of making them work for their master." In addition to several other witnesses, the committee examined Sir Jeremiah Fitzpatrick, Inspector-General of Prisons, who, in the years 1786 and 1787, had visited twenty-eight Charter schools. He stated, that the barbarous treatment which he had witnessed of some children in the school at Kilkenny, was one of his first and principal inducements to persevere in the inspection of the other Charter schools; that he found the children in them puny, and not in that state of health, in which children generally are; they were in general filthy, and ill clothed. He has seen them without shifts or shirts, and in such a situation as it was indecent to look on; the diet was insufficient for the support of their delicate frames; their instruction was very much neglected; in general the children had the itch, and other eruptive disorders. At Castle Carbery, there was no appearance of a school-room: part of a window was stuffed with a turf-kish and dung, and there were but twenty-four ragged shirts and shifts, though there were eighteen girls and fourteen boys, most of them sickly, wretched-looking creatures, covered with the itch; two only could read, and all order appeared to have been neglected; but the master's and mistress's apartments were comfortable and well furnished, as likewise the parlour which served for a committee-room. All these disclosures were made, yet no attempt to correct the abuses or to punish the cruelties, down to the very period of the late visitation, appears to have occurred.

Some time subsequent to this investigation of the committee of the House of Commons, a Rev. Dr. Beaufort, and a Mr. Corneille, a saintly barrister, were sent on a tour of inspection. They made their report a few years back, and though it was quite notorious, that grievous atrocities had not in the slightest degree abated, their report proves that they were either incapable or unwilling, to find out as much as was easily discovered nearly forty years ago by the benevolent exertions of Howard. They met only with the traces and footsteps of perfection itself. Some schools were good; others were better than good; none were bad; none were indifferent; none demanded reformation or rebuke. The Commissioners of education have instanced the report, and placed it in juxtaposition with their own inquiries.

The office of visitor, &c. &c. was now found so ineffectual, that they were at length finally discontinued. In their place was substituted another mode of communication. Catechists were appointed, clergymen of the church of England, with a salary of 20*l.* and a gratuity of 2*l.* 10*s.* per quarter, which the committee of fifteen were authorised to grant to every catechist who should comply with the society's regulations. They were obliged to furnish monthly reports for the use of the committee on the state of schools, &c. immediately under their care. The following extract from the examination of the secretary of the society, taken the 30th of October 1824, will show how much of this duty was performed or neglected, while at the same time we learn from the same officer, that he is not aware of an instance in

which a part of the salary of a catechist has been withheld during the last fifteen or twenty years.

“ Q. If the rules of the society were observed, is it not the fact that each catechist would monthly have reported upon his own school ?

A. Yes.

Q. There are about thirty schools belonging to the society ?

A. Yes.

Q. It would follow, that about two hundred and seventy monthly reports at least ought ere now to have been made ; of these two hundred and seventy, how many have been made, as nearly as you can answer ?

A. There is a small proportion, I cannot tell how many.

Q. Have *ten* been received ?

A. From the 1st of January to the 1st of October, there ought to have been *nine* letters from each catechist, that would be two hundred and seventy letters.

Q. How many of these two hundred and seventy have you received ?

A. *I declare I do not think there are fifty.*

Q. Do you believe that as many as ten, out of those two hundred and seventy regular monthly reports, have been received by you ?

A. *Upon my word I doubt it.*

Q. Can you recollect any one instance, in which a catechist has made one of his monthly returns since the 1st of last January ?

A. *I do not think there is.”*

From such inquirers and reporters little information

and little anxiety for reform were to be expected. Accordingly years elapsed, before the public seemed to have been sufficiently convinced of the iniquities of these establishments. The general habits of discussion generated by the great political question, which more or less embraced every other, at length turned the attention of the government to the nuisance, and a commission was appointed for the purpose of making the most minute inquiry into the evils and infamies with which these schools were charged, by the almost unanimous voice of the country, with a view to their immediate and radical correction.

The innumerable delinquencies and abuses, which the Commissioners detected, soon justified every particular of these accusations. During the course of the examination, every atrocity and cruelty, every violation of the public trust, every corrupt perversion of the public benevolence, were successively displayed in their true colours. The report leaves us at a loss, whether most to express our horror at the systematic plan of bigotry and cruelty upon which these schools were conducted, or at the profligate expenditure of the public money to which they owe their support, and of which no less a sum than 1,600,000*l.* was spent in the course of ninety-three years upon the education of twelve thousand children, being less than a fourth part of the number educated every year by the Catholic clergy,* with infinitely

* It is stated in the evidence before the House, that a priest in the parish of Lewisburg in the county of Sligo, established no less than thirteen schools, with little other assistance than what he derived from his own exertions. This fact is by no means solitary. There are many similar instances to be found in various parts of Ireland.

less than one twentieth part of the means. Fraud and inhumanity mix up in every detail. Instead of teaching the orphans committed by the nation to their charge, these barbarous educators of youth had literally made them their beasts of burden. They thus got an interest in prolonging their period of bondage. Every part of the report abounds with evidences of these facts. We find that "David Porter" had in twelve months added only half a year to his age. The same happened to "James M'Kenzie." M'Gann remained fifteen all the year round, or rather was younger in 1823 than in the year preceding. This is farce, but we now come to tragedy. The Sligo school was visited by two of the Commissioners. It appeared on an attentive examination, that the master was a man of violent and ungoverned passions, and that the boys were most severely and cruelly punished, not only by him personally, but also by his son and by a foreman in the weaving department, and that these punishments were inflicted for very slight faults. At the Castle Dermot school, two boys had been very severely punished by the master. They stated that they had been set to work in the garden, and having had but little breakfast they were hungry, and had eaten a raw cabbage; that the master, who appeared to be a man of violent passions, caught them, and flogged them for this offence severely; that one of them received sixteen stripes in the usual manner, and six blows with a stick on the head, which continued cut and bruised when the school was visited by the Commissioners. The other boy had eloped in consequence of the beating. The boys stated, "that the Usher beats the boys oftenest, but the

master the most severely : the usher for offences in the school-room, the master for other offences." At Stradbally school, eight boys had been beaten so severely, that when the Commissioners saw them, they were in a shocking state of laceration and contusion. The offence with which these boys were charged by the usher was, " looking at two policemen playing at ball, in the boys alley ;" but the catechist states, " that he believes the usher may have been actuated in the punishment by his feelings, as to what the boys may *have said of him on the former visit of the Commissioners.*" Such was the nature of the discipline—their acquirements were strictly in harmony. " On examining the boys," say the Commissioners, " they were found able to repeat the catechism and the expositions of it correctly, but attached little or no meaning to the words they repeated. The two head classes consisted of twenty boys, of thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen years of age : seventeen of them declared they had never heard of St. Paul, and half of them had no idea, whether the word " Europe " meant a man, a place, or a thing ; and only three boys in the school could name the four quarters of the world. Two boys only appeared ever to have heard of Job ; and only one could give any account of his history ! But it was not gross ignorance only which was encouraged. The consequences were not merely indifferent, they were flagrantly and extensively pernicious. From the correspondence and examination of an individual who was candidate for a situation in the Santry school, the most curious facts were elicited. Firstly, it was declared, that the chief efforts of every teacher are di-

rected, to impress upon the mind of the children from the earliest dawn of reason, the most absolute *hatred* of Popery. Secondly, that though this be the case, they still discover a marvellous partiality to the obnoxious creed, and many are found to abandon the creed of their infancy before they reach the age of *ten*: and thirdly, that, instead of producing a veneration for the word of God, the plan pursued in these notable seminaries, produces consequences precisely the reverse. The causes are obvious: one of these teachers stated on oath, that the learners are obliged to get portions of the Bible by heart; that they are most severely beaten for failing to commit these portions to memory; that the sacred word is in this manner perverted into an additional instrument of torture, and consequently the children are found generally to leave the school, with as cordial abhorrence of the Holy Scriptures, as of “the errors of the church of Rome itself.” Thus this beneficent scheme of education, which was pompously stated by its most reverend author to be a plan the best of all others calculated to ensure “the salvation of those poor creatures, who are our fellow-subjects,” has been proved on the most incontestable evidence, to have produced mere hotbeds of bigotry, engendered by proselytism, and kept alive by the bad passions of the community; establishments known only to the country, by the enormous sums they receive from it in the shape of Parliamentary grants; infamous nurseries of ignorance and political rancour; where the child was separated from the parent by fraud or by force, and submitted to a course of cruelty and demoralization, which makes the blood freeze, and raises

a blush upon the cheek of every honourable man. Instead of being fit objects of the support of the legislature, they were only worthy of the animadversion and severity of the Attorney General. Under 'another government, they would have long since been visited with the outstretched arm of the law, as they have already been fully branded with the execration of every thinking and honest man in the community.

Such was the course of education provided for the wants of the Catholic peasantry of Ireland, in substitution for that of which they had been violently robbed by the legislation of the preceding century. No wonder, that from such a tree fruits of bitterness and evil, fruits of religious rancour, fruits of civil dissension, should alone have been plucked by the ill-fated generations who succeeded. Accordingly few sources of domestic hostility have been so prolific, few means have been so dangerously successful, in keeping alive the hates and inequalities, which have so long been the curse of Ireland. With such teachers, they made in after life, civil contention the first of civil duties, substituted sectarianism for religion, a faction for the country, and abused those faculties which might have been of service, even in the lowest sphere, in rescuing her from her calamities, in adding new poignancy to the malady, and rendering every day more and more difficult her cure.

The schools of the Society for discountenancing Vice, of the trustees for Erasmus Smith Fund, of the London Hibernian Society, &c. were intended to be substituted for the deficiencies, or auxiliary to the labours, of the Charter schools of Ireland; but previous to the year

1811. They seem comparatively to have done nothing. The fourteenth report of the commissioners of education gives some details which will go to show a very considerable increase both of schools and scholars since that period. In 1811 the commissioners state, that the gross number of schools throughout Ireland, amounted to about 4600, attended by about 200,000 children, and that an increase had taken place, from that year to the year 1824, the date of the report, of 7223 schools, and 360,000 scholars. The details of this comparison will place the fact in a still stronger point of view :

| | In 1811 | | In 1824 |
|----------------------------|---------------|---|---------|
| Association for discounte- | | | |
| nancing Vice had . | 38 schools | . | 226 |
| Trustees of Erasmus | | | |
| Smith had . . . | 8 do. | . | 113 |
| London Hibernian | | | |
| Society . . . | 38 do. | . | 618 |
| Kildare Place Society | did not exist | . | 919 |
| Sunday School Society | 44 . | . | 1,640 |

This may appear a very flattering portrait of the rapid improvement in the diffusion of education, principally among the poorer classes, during so short a period as thirteen years ; but in 1826, the Commissioners of education, after a very attentive examination, recommended the withdrawing of the grants from these very societies, that is, from the Society for discounte-nancing Vice, and from the Lord Lieutenant's fund, &c. The London Hibernian Society, by the confession of many of its own members, Messrs. Pringle,

Gordon, &c. was convicted of employing education merely as an instrument of proselytism; and the Kildare Place Society, which had set out with such large professions of liberalism, was demonstrated to have acted in a manner very inconsistent with the avowed objects of its institution, and to have been totally inadequate to the purposes for which it originally had been set up. The zeal with which the Catholics (and the priesthood not less than the laity) had offered their co-operation at the outset, was totally misconstrued, and finally abused. The Bible was introduced, without note or comment, contrary to the preliminary understanding between both parties, and the consequences were such as might have been apprehended, a total disruption of the amicable relations which previously subsisted, and a want of confidence and cordiality, without which, in a country so divided as Ireland, it is quite evident every plan of national education must utterly fail.* These views very strongly impressed themselves upon the Com-

* The late Primate of all Ireland (Dr. Stuart), the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Magee), Dr. Jebb, Dr. Mant, and many others of the most learned prelates in either persuasion, have stated it as their opinion, that note and comment are absolutely essential to the right understanding of the sacred volume. The following table, though by no means offered as a proof that an indiscriminate reading of the Bible encourages crime, is sufficient evidence that it has not done very much to prevent it.

| | |
|---|--------|
| In the seven years preceding the exertions made for the diffusion of the Bible, the committals of Eng- | |
| land and Wales amounted to | 47,522 |
| Out of which there were capital convictions | 4,126 |
| In the seven succeeding years in the same, | |
| committals | 93,282 |
| convictions | 8,244 |

missioners, and as the result of much patient and impartial research into the deficiencies and vices of preceding and existing systems, they ventured to suggest with a view to their correction, and with due reference to the existing state of the country, such a system of national education for the lower classes, in lieu of all those actually in use, as might embrace both moral and religious instruction, and at the same time sufficiently respect the several prejudices of all classes in the community. They proposed a united system of education, where the children of all religious persuasions might be educated together, from which if possible all suspicion should be banished, and every ground of political or religious distrust should be as much as possible removed. Under such a system, it was to be hoped that the children would gradually imbibe similar ideas and form congenial habits, and would gradually lose that distinctness of feeling and separation of interests, which had been found by experience to have been one of the fertile principles of the miseries of Ireland, and the chief cause of the divisions and animosities of her children. The Catholic prelacy evinced on the occasion a becoming anxiety to meet the proposition half way; and in their synod held at Dublin January 21, 1826, they came unanimously to the following important resolutions.

These resolutions were subsequently transmitted, January 23d, by Dr. Murray to Lord Killeen, for the purpose of being laid before the Catholic Association, and met on their being presented their unanimous approbation.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND
BISHOPS OF IRELAND.

At a meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Roman Catholic church in Ireland, held in Dublin on the 21st January 1826, the following resolutions on the subject of National Education were unanimously adopted:—

1. That the admission of Protestants and Roman Catholics into the same schools, for the purpose of literary instruction, may, under existing circumstances, be allowed, provided sufficient care be taken to protect the religion of the Roman Catholic children, and to furnish them with adequate means of religious instruction.

2. That in order to secure sufficient protection to the religion of the Roman Catholic children, under such a system of education, we deem it necessary, that the master of each school in which the majority of the pupils profess the Roman Catholic faith, be a Roman Catholic; and that, in schools in which the Roman Catholic children form only a minority, a permanent Roman Catholic assistant be employed; and that such master and assistant be appointed upon the recommendation or with the express approval of the Roman Catholic bishops of the diocese in which they are to be employed; and further, that they or either of them be removed, upon the representation of such bishops: the same rule to be observed for the appointment or dismissal of mistresses and assistants in female schools.

3. That we consider it improper that masters and mistresses intended for the religious instruction of Roman Catholic youth, should be trained or educated by or under the control of persons professing a different faith; and that we conceive it most desirable, that a male and female model school shall be established in each province in Ireland, to be supported at the public expense, for the purpose of qualifying such masters and mistresses for the important duties which they shall be appointed to discharge.

4. That in conformity with the principle of protecting the religion of Roman Catholic children, the books intended for their particular instruction in religion shall be selected or approved by the Roman Catholic prelates; and that no book or tract of common instruction in literature shall be introduced into any school in which Roman Catholic children are educated, which book or tract may be objected to, on religious grounds, by the Roman Catholic bishop of the diocese in which such school is established.

5. That a transfer of the property in several schools which now exist or may hereafter exist in Ireland, may be utterly impracticable from the nature of the tenure by which they are or may hereafter be held, and from the number of persons having a legal interest in them, as well as from a variety of other causes; and that, in our opinion, any regulation which should require such transfer to be made, as a necessary condition for receiving parliamentary support, would operate to the exclusion of many useful schools from all participation in the public bounty.

6. That appointed as we have been by Divine Providence to watch over and preserve the deposit of Catholic faith in Ireland, and responsible as we are to God for the souls of our flocks, we will, in our respective dioceses, withhold our concurrence and support from any system of education which will not fully accord with the principles expressed in the foregoing resolutions.

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Patrick Curtis, D. D. | Dan Murray, D. D. |
| Oliver Kelly, D. D. | Rob. Laffen, D. D. |
| F. O'Reilly, D. D. | J. O'Shaughnessy, D. D. |
| P. M'Loughlin, D. D. | Thos. Costello, D. D. |
| J. Magauran, D. D. | K. Marum, D. D. |
| G. T. Plunkett, D. D. | P. Waldron, D. D. |
| James Keating, D. D. | John Murphy, D. D. |
| Chas. Tuohy, D. D. | James Doyle, D. D. |
| Edw. Kiernan, D. D. | P. M'Nicholas, D. D. |
| Patrick Kelly, D. D. | P. M'Gettigan, D. D. |
| Corn. Egan, D. D. | Edm. French, D. D. |
| Wm. Crolly, D. D. | Thomas Coen, D. D. |
| Pat. Maguire, D. D. | Robert Logan, D. D. |
| P. M'Mahon, D. D. | Pat. Burke, D. D. |
| John M'Hale, D. D. | John Ryan, D. D. |

These dispositions were, however, but very partially realised. The code still neutralised every effort at national improvement. The public mind, absorbed by the one thought, gave little or no attention to these projects. Reasonable men admitted, that if emancipation were passed, every improvement would rapidly and naturally follow; if not, every improvement would be

useless. Education was in a great measure left to itself, and progressed but slowly. The smallest town in Italy evinced a much higher state of intellectual cultivation than the largest in Ireland.* Every thing was politics, and politics was every thing. Yet the impulse which the peasantry had received unquestionably augmented. Their known passion for instruction increased; numerous small schools, aided in part by the Association, began to appear, and at last a model school, under the patronage of the Catholic prelacy, and to which 500*l.* was contributed by public vote from the Rent, was founded in Dublin, for the purpose of providing well-disciplined instructors, and giving a regular and systematic form to Catholic education throughout the kingdom. It is to

* In a small town in the Papal states, containing not more than ten thousand inhabitants, I found three well provided libraries open every day to the public; lectures in surgery and physic at the hospitals, &c. twice a week; lectures in logic, mathematics, astronomy, &c. thrice—both *gratis*. An academy for the encouragement of the sciences, literature, and antiquities of the country, of which almost every gentleman was member, and which held its sittings once a month. A museum of the natural history and mineralogy of the district; another of the antiquities; a small botanical garden; two theatres; besides a small private theatrical company of amateurs composed of the gentry of the town, and many of whom were artists of real merit, performing in rotation Goldoni's comedies, Alfieri's tragedies, and some of the best operas of Cimarosa, Rossini, Faerni, &c. The "Commune" supported several public schools, and maintained an artist at Rome, at their own expense, *in perpetuum*. This, it must be remembered, was in the Patrimonio, that is, in one of the least intellectual parts of Italy, and is rather below than above the general scale of education, even in that district. Compare it, such as it is, with the state of education at Cork, Limerick, &c. and then panegyrisé the wisdom of our ancestors, and the blessings of an ascendancy code, which has placed us where we are.

be hoped in the present ameliorated state of things, this laudable effort will attract the attention of the legislature and the country, and the great work of national education be taken up in the spirit in which it ought, not with a view of widening but of closing the breaches which hitherto have existed between man and man, of providing good members for society, free citizens for our constitution, and steady and enlightened supporters of those several institutions, in which mainly consist the glory and the power of every civilised community. The portion of Rent still in hands, collected as it was from the peasant, in a great degree for the purpose of providing him with useful, religious, and literary instruction, ought, without fail or further delay, to be employed for the peasant's use and benefit. Agricultural schools in the several districts, where such institutions are most practicable and most required, should be founded. The people should be encouraged to better their condition, by conferring on them the knowledge of the means by which their condition may be bettered. New links should be formed between the different orders of the state; the relations which a long series of unwise measures and cruel laws have burst and kept asunder, should be restored; the national intellect, waste but fertile, should be brought into cultivation, and another people, truly such, and not as they hitherto have been, too frequently a populace, should be raised up, out of the wrecks and lees of the past. England owes us this atonement for her former misrule and spoliation: she it was who made us and kept us ignorant. At her door is to be laid our barbarism, and all that our barbarism has entailed upon

us. A better order of things has begun; let her nobly aim at its consummation. Power is crime, unless it be productive of blessing, and the most brilliant tyranny which ever dazzled and crushed man, is not to be compared to the patient enduring of happiness out of misery, health out of malady, knowledge out of ignorance, and morning out of night. Such trophies endure; they are well won. She will find in the Irish mind, when *fairly* dealt with, an enthusiastic and generous co-operator.* But this *fairness* Ireland must have; with it she may do every thing; without it—nothing.

No. XX.

STATE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC
CLERGY IN IRELAND.

The Roman Catholic church of Ireland is composed of four Archbishops and twenty-two Bishops. The

* Even with all drawbacks, education of the lower classes is farther advanced than in France. At a recent meeting in Paris for the encouragement of elementary education, the secretary read a paper with the following particulars:—

Children to whom desirable to communicate instruction,

| | | | | | |
|-------|---|---|---|-----------|--------------|
| Boys | . | . | . | 2,750,000 | } 5,500,000. |
| Girls | . | . | . | do. | |

Communes 39,381, in which there are 27,000 schools, educating

| | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|---|-----------|
| Boys | . | . | . | 1,070,000 |
| Girls | . | . | . | 430,000 |
| To be educated | . | . | . | 4,000,000 |

Ireland educates indiscriminately above half a million.

archbishops take their titles,* as in the established church, from Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam. Of the bishops eight are suffragans of Armagh, and are those of Ardagh, Clogher, Derry, Down and Connor, Dromore, Kilmore, Meath, and Raphoe. Dublin has but three suffragans, Leighlin and Ferns, Kildare, and Ossory. Six are suffragans to Cashel, viz. Ardfert and Aghadoe, Cloyne and Ross, Cork, Killaloe, Limerick and Waterford, and Lismore. Four are subject to Tuam, viz. Athenry, Clonfert, Elphin, and Killaloe. There are besides these the bishops of the united dioceses of Kilmacduagh and Kilsenora; the one in Connaught, the other in Munster, who is alternately suffragan of Tuam and Cashel.

As in the established church, we also have a dignitary in Galway called a *Warden*, who has nearly an episcopal jurisdiction, and is no further subject to higher powers than that he is liable to a triennial visitation of the Archbishop of Tuam.

Every bishop has a vicar-general of his own appointment, who holds his office only *durante bene placito*, and whose jurisdiction ceases on the death of the prelate.

Every diocese has also a Dean appointed by the *Cardinal Protector*, i. e. that Cardinal in Rome who has the peculiar direction of all ecclesiastical matters appertaining to Ireland, and also an Archdeacon, named by the Bishop. These two are men of nominal dignities, having neither power nor emolument annexed to them.

* I speak of the period antecedent to the passing of the Catholic Relief bill.

On the death of a Bishop, the clergy of a diocese are empowered by the canon to elect a *Vicar Capitular*, who is invested during the vacancy of the see with episcopal jurisdiction; but if such election does not take place within a specified number of days after the demise of the bishop has been notified to them, the Archbishop of the province may appoint of his own authority the vicar.

The clergy in the mean time assemble and fix their choice on one of their own body, or sometimes on a stranger, and petition the Pope, or in technical language, postulate that he may be appointed to the vacant see. The bishops also of the province consult each other, and unite in presenting to the Pope two or three men of merit, one of whom is usually appointed; for the recommendation of the prelates has always more weight in Rome, than the postulations of the inferior clergy.

The appointment of the Irish bishops lies in the cardinals, who compose the congregations *de propagandâ fide*. It takes place on Monday, and on the following Sunday is submitted by their secretary to the Pope, who may confirm or annul the nomination at will; it very rarely however happens that he does not confirm it.

There is a custom common in all Roman Catholic countries, and frequently practised in Ireland, which I believe is not known in the established church, that of appointing assistant or coadjutor bishops. In the event of old age, infirmity, or any accidental visitations of Heaven, whereby a bishop is rendered incapable of attending to the laborious duties of his station, he may choose any meritorious clergyman to be his coadjutor,

and to succeed him at his death. His recommendation is almost invariably attended to in Rome, the object of his choice is appointed and consecrated, taking his title from some oriental diocese, which title he relinquishes on his succeeding at the death of the old and infirm bishop whom he was appointed to assist. While retaining the oriental title, though in character and by consecration a bishop, he is called a bishop *in partibus*, because the see, from which he takes his designation, being under the dominion of some eastern power, is styled, in the language of the office from which the bull of the appointment is issued, to be *in partibus infidelium*.

The emoluments of the bishop arise from three sources, which are usually, the best parish in the diocese, the licenses, and the *cathedraticum*.

The license is, a dispensation granted by the bishop in the publication of banns, for which a sum not less than a crown, and according to the means of the parties, sometimes half a guinea or a guinea is paid. And as it very seldom happens that the parties are inclined to have the banns published, the generality are married by license.

The *cathedraticum* is, a yearly sum, generally from two to ten guineas, given by each parish priest to the bishop, in proportion to the value of his parish, for the purpose of supporting the episcopal dignity. There is no law to enforce this tribute, nor any obligation to pay it, yet it is a very ancient practice, and is never omitted.

Parish priests are appointed solely by the bishop, and if collated, or having three years peaceable possession, they cannot be dispossessed, otherwise they may

be removed at pleasure. A collation, is a written appointment signed by the bishop, by which he confers a parish on a clergyman, and confides it indefinitely to his care.

Coadjutors or curates are also appointed by the bishop, and are movable at will.

The parish priest is supported by voluntary contributions, if that can be called voluntary which is established by ancient custom and general prevalence. His income springs from various sources; from Easter and Christmas dues. These consist in a certain sum paid by the head of every family to the parish priest for his support, and in consideration of his trouble in catechising, instructing, and hearing the confessions of his family. The sum is greater or smaller in proportion to the circumstances of the parishioners. In the country parishes, it is generally a shilling at Easter, and a shilling at Christmas. Some give half-a-crown, some a crown, and some few a guinea a year. There is no general ecclesiastical law to enforce the payment of these trifles; but as the mode was struck out, in what has been denominated the council of Kilkenny, under Rennucini, it has continued ever since to be practised, and from custom has acquired the force of law.

Weddings. The sum to be paid at these is different in different dioceses. The usual sum given by the bridegroom is a guinea; in addition to which, a collection is frequently made among the friends of the parties who have been invited, for the benefit of the parish priest.

The consideration made to the clergyman for saying

mass at the house of a parishioner, varies in different dioceses.

The general stipend of the curate is the third part of the general receipts of the parish. But in some instances, such as when the parish priest is old, infirm, or unacquainted with Irish, and consequently incapable of lessening in any great degree the labour of the curate, the latter frequently receives half of the parochial emoluments.

Stations, are meetings at some commodious house appointed by the priest for the convenience of such people as live at a distance from the chapel, where he hears their confessions, gives the communion, catechises the children, &c.; and it is at their half-yearly meetings that he receives his Easter or Christmas dues.

The parochial fee for each christening is two shillings or half-a-crown, besides which the sponsors usually give something more. Some trifle is generally given for visiting the sick; a shilling usually in the country.

In some parts of the country, custom has established that a certain quantity of hay and oats is sent by the more opulent parishioners to the clergyman; that his turf should be cut, his corn reaped, his meadow mowed, &c. gratis; and I have heard it more than once stated, that in some parts of Ireland, bordering on the sea-coast, a certain quantity of fish is given to the priest, in lieu of parochial dues.

No. XXI.

ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

I.—*Constituency of Ireland.*

The following is an account of the 50*l.*, 20*l.*, and 40*s.* freeholders in Ireland, at the period of the last general election :*—

| County of | £50 | £20 | 40 <i>s.</i> |
|---------------------|-------|-----|--------------|
| Antrim . . . | 389 | 127 | 6,056 |
| Armagh . . . | 145 | 129 | 9,802 |
| Carlow . . . | 313 | 160 | 3,073 |
| Cavan . . . | 486 | 218 | 7,110 |
| Clare . . . | 605 | 327 | 13,035 |
| Cork . . . | 2,106 | 793 | 14,966 |
| Down . . . | 644 | 147 | 13,324 |
| Dublin . . . | 800 | 591 | 2,947 |
| Fermanagh . . . | 347 | 247 | 8,333 |
| Kerry . . . | 741 | 438 | 5,537 |
| Kildare . . . | 370 | 103 | 761 |
| Kilkenny . . . | 520 | 63 | 589 |
| King's County . . . | 819 | 48 | 377 |
| Leitrim . . . | 45 | 113 | 5,950 |
| Limerick . . . | 1,119 | 774 | 10,793 |
| Londonderry . . . | 353 | 81 | 4,213 |
| Longford . . . | 292 | 125 | 3,106 |

* The very great disproportion of the different species of freeholders as returned in this statement, may convey some idea of the great extent to which the Disfranchisement bill must operate, in depriving the people of Ireland of their just rights as freemen.

Louth, there are 3,000 freeholders, but the amounts of qualification are indiscriminately mixed in the book.

| | | | |
|------------------------|-----|-----|--------|
| Mayo | 318 | 157 | 19,987 |
| Meath | 663 | 62 | 1,089 |
| Monaghan | 261 | 109 | 6,754 |
| Queen's County | 762 | 225 | 4,483 |
| Roscommon | 441 | 199 | 8,685 |
| Tipperary | 602 | 562 | 6,180 |
| Tyrone | 108 | 155 | 8,779 |
| Waterford | 333 | 114 | 2,119 |
| Westmeath | 441 | 131 | 2,275 |
| Wexford | 580 | 452 | 8,194 |
| Wicklow | 257 | 59 | 1,086 |

Returns have not been received from the counties of Donegal, Galway, and Sligo.

The totals of the above are—forty shillings, 179,103—twenty pounds, 6,909—fifty pounds, 20,560. It does not appear, however, that they afford an accurate view of the real state of the constituency, as some of the clerks of the peace have made such notifications as the following:—

I certify that the foregoing is a true return, as the different classes of freeholders appear entered on the registry; but numbers of all the classes, more particularly the fifty-pound freeholders, the return of which goes as far back as 1795, *must be dead, or have lost their freeholds* by the expiration of their titles, by the diminution in the value of lands, and from various other causes.

JAMES CHETTETON,
Clerk of the Peace, Co. Cork.

I do not think that more than one-half of the above number could now vote, as many of them are dead; and almost all, if not the entire, of the forty-shilling and twenty-pound freeholders are twice registered, and many three times.

ADAM NIXON,

Clerk of the Peace for Fermanagh.

The forty-shilling and twenty-pound freeholders are taken up from April 1817: the fifty-pound freeholders from December 1785: many of the fifty-pound freeholders are supposed to be dead. There are a number of forty-shilling freeholders lately registered, which, agreeably to the order of the House of Commons, could not be included in the foregoing return.

JOHN FLOOD,

Clerk of the Peace, Co. Kilkenny.

NOTE.—I think it may reasonably be presumed that some of the above number, whose names appear on the books, are not now living; and I believe also, that the apparent gross number is multiplied, from the circumstance that there are some re-registries among the forty-shilling freeholders.

ARTHUR D'ESTERRE,

Deputy Clerk of the Peace, Co. Limerick.

We cannot help remarking, that a slovenliness and indifference are manifest in most of the documents transmitted to parliament from public officers in this country, which deserve the strongest censure. Of thirty-two returning officers, it seldom happens that three will take

the same view of the duty that is imposed upon them, or discharge it in a similar manner. Some will altogether withhold the information sought to be obtained from them, and others give it vaguely and imperfectly, in instances in which accuracy and precision seem not only practicable but easy. When any of our representatives next moves for a series of returns, we would recommend him to notice the matter with the seriousness which it deserves.

One of the objects in seeking for freehold lists was, to ascertain the number of forty-shilling voters who hold *in fee*. "John Bourne, clerk of the peace for Louth," could not give the least information on the subject. In his books there is no classification of the voters; but there is preciseness enough to enable him to bundle all together, and tell the aggregate amount. We beg his pardon. On looking again to the return, we see there is a "value column;" but he tells us that "the forty-shilling, the twenty-pound, the fifty-pound, and the hundred-pound freeholders are *indiscriminately mixed*." Perhaps the explanation which he gives of this "*indiscriminate mixture*" will be deemed sufficient, namely, that "there never was a contested election in the county of Louth since the year 1768." May we be permitted to mention, that the families who have so capitally succeeded in making a borough of this county for fifty-seven years are the Jocelyns and the Fosters? Of the other clerks of the peace, it seems three (those of Donegal, Galway, and Sligo) had sent no returns, bad or good; and five (those of Armagh, Dublin, Fermanagh, Kerry, and the Queen's County) sent returns, but were

not able to state any thing positively with regard to the *fee* interests of the forty-shilling freeholders.

The Counties of which the reporters are able to speak with certainty are twenty-two. Of these, nine—viz.

| | | |
|---------|--------|---------------|
| Antrim, | Clare, | Londonderry, |
| Carlow, | Cork, | Longford, and |
| Cavan, | Down, | Louth— |

have 1661 forty-shilling freeholders, possessed of property in fee, supposing the numbers set down for Longford (1341) to be correct. This, however, a London paper, with apparent reason, conceives to be very doubtful. The Counties in which it is ascertained that there are no freeholders possessing property in fee, are—

| | | |
|----------------|------------|------------|
| Kildare, | Louth, | Tyrone, |
| Kilkenny, | Mayo, | Waterford, |
| King's County, | Meath, | Westmeath, |
| Leitrim, | Roscommon, | and |
| Limerick, | Tipperary, | Wicklow. |

Tipperary is stated as containing 6002 fifty-shilling freeholders. This, too, seems manifestly erroneous. Indeed the whole return is all through clumsy, unprecise, and unsatisfactory.

II.—*Freeholders registered and Freeman admitted for the last seven years in different parts of Ireland as far as returned to Parliament.*

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|--------|
| Athlone | . | . | . | 10 |
| Bandon | . | . | . | 92 |
| Belfast | . | . | . | 4 |
| Carrickfergus | . | . | . | 47 |
| Cashel | . | . | . | 2 |
| Cork freeholders | . | . | . | 12,267 |
| — freemen | . | . | . | 837 |
| Drogheda | . | . | . | 574 |
| Dublin freeholders | . | . | . | 1,260 |
| — freemen | . | . | . | 960 |
| Dungannon | . | . | . | 770 |
| Kilkenny freeholders | . | . | . | 326 |
| — freemen | . | . | . | 212 |
| Kinsale | . | . | . | 42 |
| Mallow | . | . | . | 538 |
| Tralee | . | . | . | 11 |
| Waterford freeholders | . | . | . | 17 |
| — freemen | . | . | . | 66 |
| Youghal | . | . | . | none |

No returns arrived from Clonmel, Ennis, Limerick, Londonderry, Galway, and Portarlington.

III.—*Augmentation and Decrease of the several classes of Freeholders throughout Ireland from 1801 to 1821.*

The increase and decrease of freeholders in Ireland may be classed under the following heads:—

FORTY-SHILLING FREEHOLDERS.

1st, In Ulster, since 1803 to 1821, the forty-shilling freeholders remained very nearly stationary, with the exception of the county of Londonderry, where they quintupled, and Donegal, where they doubled. 2nd, In Leinster there was a very great change within the same period. This appears particularly striking on comparing both the aggregate and the details. The aggregate decreased from 32,127 to 28,492. There was a diminution of about half in the King's County; in Kilkenny and Louth they increased, doubled in West Meath and Wexford, and tripled in Meath. In Wicklow they fell off about one-third; in the other counties they remained nearly stationary. 3rd, In Connaught the aggregate number of forty-shilling freeholders increased upwards of 10,000. This augmentation was most sensible in Galway and Leitrim, where they doubled; they increased about one-third in Mayo and Roscommon, and in Sligo they diminished about one-fifth. 4th, In the province of Munster, the augmentation far exceeded that of the other provinces. The aggregate increased from 24,653 to 41,256. This augmentation was most perceptible in Limerick, where the number of freeholders increased one-fifth; in Clare, Cork, and Waterford, where they doubled; but especially in Tipperary, where, owing probably to a series of contested elections, they very nearly tripled. Kerry appears the only county which suffered any diminution. Its forty-shilling constituency fell off very nearly one-fifth. In the cities, generally speak-

ing, they slightly increased. Dublin formed an exception; from 216 they at one period fell off to 21.

FIFTY AND TWENTY POUND FREEHOLDERS.

They are by far most numerous, in proportion to its extent, in Leinster. From 1801 to 1821, the fifties increased one-third, the twenties diminished nearly one-half. In Ulster the fifties increased from 807 to 1,888, and the twenties from 1,407 to 1,724. This is a very small proportion compared with the forty-shilling constituency of the same province. In 1821, the forty-shilling freeholders amounted to 27,737, far exceeding the proportion of this description of electors to the fifty and twenty pound freeholders in any other province. Even in Connaught, considered the poorest, the number of fifty-pound freeholders exceed those in Ulster; their forty-shilling freeholders were considerably less. As in Leinster, the fifty-pound freeholders slightly increased, but the twenty-pound freeholders, though in a much smaller proportion, diminished. Munster presents the most remarkable augmentation. In 1803, there were 6,795 fifties; they had increased in 1821 to 8,197. The twenties had not suffered by this alteration as in Leinster and Connaught, but had risen in the same period from 3,254 to 5,572. This gives a very great excess above the fifty and twenty-pound constituency in Ulster, which, nearly equal in extent, is supposed to be far richer (and with its riches more equally diffused) than Munster. The numerous "locations," as they are termed, and the combination of manufactures with agriculture, sufficiently account for the very large

amount of the forty-shilling constituency in the North, but I am not aware of any satisfactory reason for the proportionably small number of the fifty and twenty pound freeholders in the same district. From its acknowledged superiority in civilization, precisely the contrary phenomena should be expected.

IV.—*List of the numbers of Freeholders polled in various shires in England in which severe contests have taken place within a recent period.*

| 1820. | 1826. |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Bedford.</i> | <i>Bedford.</i> |
| Three candidates. | Three candidates. |
| Total number of votes . 3,982 | Total number of votes . 3,786 |
| <i>Berks.</i> | <i>Huntingdon.</i> |
| Three candidates. | Three candidates. |
| Total number of votes . 2,270 | Total number of votes . 2,737 |
| <i>Cumberland.</i> | <i>Northumberland.</i> |
| Three candidates. | Four candidates. |
| Total number of votes . 406 | Total number of votes . 5,253 |
| <i>Devon.</i> | <i>Oxford.</i> |
| Three candidates. | Three candidates. |
| Total number of votes . 6,298 | Total number of votes . 3,598 |
| <i>Glamorgan.</i> | <i>Somerset.</i> |
| Three candidates. | Three candidates. |
| Total number of votes . 3,741 | Total number of votes . 3,840 |
| <i>Durham.</i> | <i>Surrey.</i> |
| Two candidates. | Three candidates. |
| Total number of votes . 1,284 | Total number of votes . 5,735 |
| <i>Middlesex.</i> | <i>Sussex.</i> |
| Three candidates. | Three candidates. |
| Total number of votes . 10,662 | Total number of votes . 5,353 |
| <i>Sussex.</i> | <i>Westmoreland.</i> |
| Three candidates. | Three candidates. |
| Total number of votes . 5,515 | Total number of votes . 5,499 |
| <i>Westmoreland.</i> | |
| Three candidates. | |
| Total number of votes . 4,341 | |

V.—*Elective Franchise in France.*

The Charter declares that no man can be an elector who does not pay 300 francs of direct taxes, and that no man is eligible who does not pay 1,000 francs.

The law of the 5th of Feb. 1817, a law proposed by the King, who was the author of the charter, and afterwards sanctioned by him, appeared to have regulated for ever the application of this principle, and the exercise of the electoral right. This organic law was identified with the fundamental. It notwithstanding received important modifications by the law of June 1820.

The law of 1817 declared, that every Frenchman paying a contribution in direct taxes of 300 francs was an elector, and that every Frenchman paying 1,000 francs was himself eligible. This was the liberal interpretation of the charter.

The first electors were highly favourable to the popular party. The inconsiderate choice of the Abbé Gregorie gave rise to the most violent recriminations. The King was alarmed; foreign powers interfered; and at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle they exacted from the Duke of Richelieu an engagement to modify the law of 1817. The active intrigues of the Minister, the murder of the Duke of Berry, the creation of seventy new peers by M. de Cazes, finally triumphed over the cause of the nation. The law of the 29th June, 1820, was substituted for that of the 5th September, 1817.

A third election law was passed on the 2nd of July last.

The result of these laws on the elective franchise is as follows :

The taxes which must be paid to give the rights of election and eligibility remain unaltered.

The law of the 5th of February, 1817, made the electors meet in one single college, in the chief town of each department. Thus eighty-six electoral assemblies were formed.

The law of June 29, 1820, broke the Electoral body into factions, and created two hundred and seventy-eight arrondissement colleges, but still leaving eighty-six departmental colleges, in which a certain number of electors (forming one-fourth of the whole electoral body), after having voted in the arrondissement colleges, again vote. Thus men of large property have a double vote, a privilege evidently contrary to the character and spirit of our laws.

Not satisfied with these usurpations of the rights of the public, in the name of law, no description of violence or fraud was omitted, in order to procure the return of the partisans and supporters of government. The law of 28th of July last has attempted to establish some security against the return of such abuses. It presents new rules for the formation of the electoral lists, and authorises the intervention of hired parties against violations of the franchise.

The provisions by which contested elections are decided are numerous. If a citizen claiming the right of voting finds himself erroneously described in the list drawn up by the prefect, he may proceed in support of his claim before that magistrate by a petition, which is

tried in the council of the prefecture; and if there arise any dispute as to domicile, or the rating of the taxes, the claimant may appeal to the royal courts, which give judgment in the last resort. Third persons, that is to say, other electors than he who is directly interested in the question, may prosecute the person who has procured an illegal inscription. The *procès* is then carried on by the third party before the administration of the prefecture; and on the appeal before the royal courts, all the keepers of civil registers and of lists of taxes, are held bound to allow the electors to examine these documents, and to deliver extracts from them when required. These wise and patriotic precautions are due to the law of 2nd July, 1828, and to the present Ministry.

When an eligible candidate is chosen deputy, the validity of his return is decided on by the chamber, which is divided into nine bureaux or sections formed by lot. The bureau to which the returned candidate belongs examines his election, and a report of that examination is made to the chamber in a public sitting.

There are no hustings, no processions, no expense ruinous to the candidates. The elections are perfectly peaceable. They take place in the towns marked out by the president. The electoral assembly appoints four scrutators and a secretary:—an election may be concluded in a day. The Urn for receiving the votes is open from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon. Every elector votes secretly, by delivering to the president a sealed billet which contains his vote. To render the election valid, the Electoral assembly must consist of at least two-thirds of the electors in-

scribed on the list, and the candidate must have an absolute majority of the suffrages. The secrecy of the vote is rigorously required; and nothing revolted the public against the last administration more than the indecent manner in which the violation of this rule was encouraged. The candidates doubtless endeavour to gain the favour of the electors; but a failure would be certain were money to be distributed amongst them. The only expenses consist in a few dinners given and received, and in the line of carriages to bring up distant or tardy electors.

The deputies are elected for seven years. An elector cannot vote until he is thirty, and a candidate must be forty to entitle him to be elected. These precautions against the vivacity of the French character might be modified with advantage. The former might be reduced to twenty-five and the latter to the thirty.

The number of electors in 1820 was 102,000. It is now not more than 88,000, in consequence of an alteration in the land-tax. The number eligible for deputies was then 22,000; they do not at present amount to more than 16,000, a very inconsiderable number indeed, in a nation containing 32,000,000 of inhabitants.

VI.—*Comparison between the English and French mode of Election, by a recent French Traveller in Ireland, Monsieur Duvergier.*

“What do you think of our elections?” Such is the question I am asked almost every day; and, simple as it may at first appear, I find it extremely difficult to

answer it. The English elections are in fact a very singular mixture of every thing the most noble and the most vile, the most serious and the most ridiculous, of the very best and the very worst in our nature. On one side, orgies, gross and debasing, a market where conscience is set up to the highest bidder, a hideous picture of disorder, riot, tumult, and brutality; on the other, the platform raised in the midst of the public square, the initiation of the people in all the most important affairs of the country, and the grand spectacle of an intelligent and free nation, called forth to decide on its own destinies and interests. How in the midst of so many considerations, each so completely distinct from the other, is it at all practicable to give a sure or decided opinion? This difficulty augments as you descend to details. The great number of the electors, the publicity of their votes, the open contest between the candidates, all these are most admirable institutions; but then in return how many absurdities—how many anomalies do they embrace? How many populous cities are there without any representatives? how many counties which cannot be approached without the passport of many thousand pounds? how many boroughs where some rich proprietor, or his agent, or coachman, are the only electors? in fine, every thing which can be imagined most capricious, absurd, and oppressive. There are some clever people in France, who set the question at rest without quitting their firesides, and decide at once, according to their respective prejudices, that the English elections are the most admirable or abominable of political institutions. I, who have just witnessed

these elections, am considerably less advanced. I do not know what opinion I am to form.

In this confusion however of good and evil, is it not possible to make some sort of choice? Here are monstrous abuses, recognised as such by the entire country: how comes it that the entire country is not yet agreed to erase them at once from the code of her laws? Thus purified from the corruptions which deface it, the effects of such a system would be soon felt by the blessings and advantages which it would be so well calculated to produce. Such was my conviction but a month or two ago. A closer and more attentive examination has since taught me very materially to modify this opinion; and the proposition of Lord John Russell now appears to me but very little better than mere trifling. Like the system of the Jesuits, it is essential that the election system of England should exist as it is, or not exist at all. It is an edifice, the component parts of which, though ill linked in appearance, are indissoluble in reality. Throw it down if you think proper, and build up another in its place; but to think of repairing it under its present form is the very worst of absurdities: instead of making it better, you will only make it worse. Look for example at the rotten boroughs: it is against them in particular that is usually levelled the whole artillery of the demi-reformers. Now, in the actual state of things, the rotten boroughs are the only seats open to talent, the only counterpoise to the immense ascendancy of birth and fortune. Without the rotten boroughs, you must have a property of 20,000*l.* a year to qualify you for a place in the House of Commons.

Without them Mr. Canning would never have been Minister, nor Mr. Brougham head of the opposition. The borough of Grampound carried on a public traffic on the rights of election. In order to visit this abuse with the punishment it merited, the legislature has transferred to the county of York the privilege of choosing the two members who formerly were returned by the borough of Grampound. Nothing could be fairer in appearance than such an adjudication; and yet, in the reality, what is the result? That from a smaller place two seats in parliament have passed to a greater. For four or five thousand pounds, a person might have represented Grampound. Now, to represent Yorkshire, you must at least run the chance of losing 80,000*l.*: and this is what is usually termed an amelioration!

Such, generally speaking, are most of the half measures which are annually proposed in parliament. One or two Lords, to acquire a certain share of popularity at a small expense, may indulge, if such be their fantasy, in preaching up these partial kinds of reform: they may thunder against the rotten boroughs, if so they will, or generously extend from fifteen days to a month the time allotted to pursue and punish corruption: but the people of England are not to be deceived; they are opening their eyes; they are no longer to be amused by these paltry expedients. They fully feel, that the object they have in view is of a totally different nature, and that an entire and thorough remodelling of the system can alone radically and efficiently improve it. This also is the opinion of Bentham and his school; but, in his passion

for abstractions, Bentham sweeps away both the good and the evil. In his plan there are no more hustings, no more public meetings, no more public speaking, no more votes given boldly and freely in public; but in each village there is proposed in their stead a box, where secretly and without the least noise each citizen may come and drop his billet; in a word, silence and mystery are every where substituted for agitation and publicity; a great deal of order, but no spirit; a semblance, a shadow, but no life. Is not this treating the man like a machine, and the whole moral system like a system of algebra? Better, a thousand times better, the elections as they are, with all their turbulence and corruption.

Augment the number of electors, they exclaim in another direction, and when every citizen is called on to vote, seduction will be rendered impracticable. Take every means to diminish them, they repeat in a third, and the choice of our representatives will then be entrusted to men of honour, *bonâ fide* proprietors of the soil, who will not descend to a base traffic upon their rights. The first of these opinions leads directly to universal suffrage, and Preston is there to furnish a reply. As to the second, I much doubt whether it be in any degree preferable. In the present system, the contest is carried on, at least with equal arms. An elector, whatever may be his vote, is sure to have his conveyance, eating and drinking, at free cost. As long as bribery goes no farther than this, he is in the full and perfect enjoyment of his freedom. Raise the qualification of the franchise, and to the bribery of a few

bottles of wine will soon succeed the bribery of place and pension. France can furnish some useful illustrations on this head. It must not be imagined that those whose rental exceeds one thousand francs a year are at all less disposed to sell themselves, than those whose rental is considerably below that standard. The whole difference appears to be, that they sell themselves for *something else*, and this something else, like a bottle of wine, is at the disposition of all the world. One man is anxious to obtain for his son a commission in the army, another, a situation in the church. In England, as elsewhere, these advantages are not to be obtained without influence and protection. The irresistible argument also of many of the more enlightened classes, "Of what consequence is *one* vote more?—if *I* am not the person, it will be some *one else*," comes very opportunely in aid of such arrangements, and without much more delay the son obtains his appointment. With what justice or propriety can such men as these look down on that inferior class of electors, whose corruption is confined to occasional intoxication?

Every year a variety of new schemes are submitted to the consideration of the legislature; for of those who are the most vociferous for reform, there are not two perhaps who understand the word in precisely the same sense. Yet with all this, clubs of reformers, annual meetings of reformers, are to be met every where, amongst whom the most touching and affecting unanimity seems to prevail. You would suppose they were all animated by a single soul, so much emotion is there in their language, such a spirit of brotherhood and good-fellowship

distinguishes their public speeches. There is but one omission in all this, that they forget to express distinctly what are the real objects they have in view, or rather they do not forget, but take good care, how they commit so material an imprudence. Suppose, for instance, assembled at the same table, the opposition and the counter-opposition of France. As long as they confine themselves to general attacks upon the Ministry, or to vague declamations in praise of liberty, every thing would probably go as well as could be desired. But do you imagine, that the moment they should take it into their heads to give their opinions a precise and determinate form, the whole of this flattering appearance of harmony would not immediately, in some manner or other, be taken up? Now this is precisely the case with the reformers of England.

What conclusions then are we to draw from all this? That the country is not yet ripe for a Parliamentary Reform; that this reform ought perhaps not to precede but to follow many other changes of still higher import; and that in awaiting this desirable amelioration, the people of England cannot do better than to sit down satisfied with the existing system. From so much inquiry and discussion as lately have taken place, a clear and simple idea must sooner or later undoubtedly spring up, which in due time will strike all eyes, and shake to their foundation every remaining prejudice. It will then be full time to embody such idea into a law; but till then, every attempt at change will be little other than an innovation without an improvement. Taking every thing together, there is besides, it must be re-

membered, in the present system, something exceedingly vigorous and grand. It is surely no ordinary spectacle, that of a nation convened upon an appointed day, to hear the humble supplication of its rulers, and according to their works to confirm or cashier them: such an institution may well defy many sneers, and resist the influence of many inherent vices. And what in effect are its actual results? Of six hundred and fifty members, not more than one hundred and fifty have been changed, and already the eyes of the public are turned on all sides towards the new parliament. The numerical majority it is well known cannot suffer any material alteration, and yet every one is in expectation and suspense. What is the cause of this singular phenomenon? and how comes it that an assembly born in the very lap of riches and corruption, is capable of inspiring an interest so lively? how is it possible, that any thing can be expected from a meeting so defectively constituted in its very origin? It is, because the very right of election implies a power which is superior to it; and as long as it shall be permitted to develop itself freely, this power, in England, must always end by carrying before it every other. I speak of public opinion, of the sovereign ruler of the entire nation, the power before which must bow all other powers in the country. The aristocracy itself exists but *through* and *by* it, and is compelled to flatter its supremacy, in order to maintain its own due rank and station in the community. Where the public manners continue pure and vigorous, where the press is free, where the right of associating and meeting in public is without control or restriction, what could a

parliament be capable of effecting which was once abandoned by public opinion? On all sides would soon spring up new rivals, in new Houses, in new assemblies of the nation, who, chosen freely by the will of the people, would soon rise above it in popular estimation. Towards *them* exclusively would the public direct its attention, in them exclusively would the public repose its confidence. In vain would the legitimate House of Commons send forth its decrees; in vain would it fulminate its prohibitions: its competitors would revive under a thousand pretexts, and favoured by the very agitation and tumult even of the electors, they would ultimately succeed by governing the country. Let no one then be deceived; public opinion has always in the end *obtained* what it *willed* with energy; and if, in the nineteenth century, the English code continues still to be stained with the relics of former fanaticism and inequality, it is because inequality and fanaticism still exist in the manners and mind of the English people.

For a considerable time, the reformers seem altogether to have passed over this important truth. It was against the parliament that their efforts were exclusively directed. They seem scarcely to have thought of remounting to the original principle. At last, however, their eyes are opened. They no longer aim at the summit, but at the base, well assured of a complete victory the moment that public opinion shall declare in their favour. Hence it is that books have replaced conspiracies, and the corn question that of annual parliaments. This new march of things and men cannot but be attended with some great result. Thanks to such a change;

the great political farce, so long played off between opposite parties, has now almost entirely disappeared, or rather those parties themselves have very nearly become extinguished. When in the present day we talk either of a Whig or a Tory, we talk of things which no longer have a meaning. Mr. Canning is a Tory, and yet he it was who proposed the changes which have lately taken place in the corn laws. Lord Grey is a Whig, and he, it is said, has declared in parliament, that he will transmit untouched to his son the inheritance of his fathers. Sir Francis Burdett is a Radical, and he professes the most marked aversion to any system which does not sanction the principle of entail, and the inequality which at present exists in the division and apportioning of property. After such anomalies, I should like to hear what constitutes the essential difference between Tory, Whig, and Radical. Between Whig and Tory, Hunt professes to see but one distinction, that the Tory is actually in power, and the Whig is anxious to be so. This opinion indeed may be considered applicable to a great number of Whigs. For many years, opinions were never consulted in the selection of a party. A man assumed the principles of Whig or Tory, from mere family compact or inheritance: the member of such and such a house could not without dishonour sit down on the benches of the opposition, or of such another, on those of the treasury:—they were ministerialists or oppositionists born. In other particulars, they had in every respect the same ideas, the same opinions, and the same prejudices. I am acquainted with a circle in London, the admission into which requires the proof of

at least four quarters of nobility; and more than one Whig of high birth inveighs with bitterness against those villanous shopkeepers, who have had the insolence to blazon upon their equipages their coats of arms. Speak of the game laws to Mr. Peel or Sir Francis Burdett, and then tell me which of the two is the most liberal?

This decomposition or dissolution of ancient parties, is indeed quite evident to the most casual observer. The elements which originally composed them must in time have acquired new affinities. Until these affinities shall be clearly ascertained, there of course will continue to be much confusion and disorder, but out of this disorder, sooner or later must arise, a new system, a better order of things. To a classification altogether factitious, will gradually succeed another, infinitely more natural: every one will then know his objects and his intentions, what he aims at, whither he is going, and the public will no longer be duped by a few high-sounding words. The discussion of the corn question is well calculated to accelerate these changes. There will ere long be a struggle, direct and uncompromising; a struggle of substantial and solid interests, between the contending powers of the community; and such in general are all those which lead to any thing efficient or permanent in a country. The question for decision will then be, whether a few Lords, for the purpose of keeping up their incomes to their present rental, will insist on their privilege of starving the great body of the people. Neither the people nor Mr. Canning seem to be of this opinion: but the aristocracy is alarmed, and it is not

unlikely the whole will end by a mutual compromise between all parties. In such a case, however, to compromise is to yield. Taken individually, four hundred out of the six hundred members of the Commons, are very possibly supporters of the most absolute prohibition; but in their public capacity, they dare not for an instant maintain these sentiments, so completely are they under the wholesome control of that public opinion, which in other places and circumstances they affect to despise. Under such a guardianship as this, there cannot exist a bad parliament.

After he has witnessed the elections, conduct a stranger into the House of Commons, and he will not believe it possible that such means could produce so remarkable a result, or that a machine so rickety in itself, when applied to use, could work so well. To solve the problem, a word or two will be sufficient. With such, every thing becomes intelligible; without them, nothing. Chain to-morrow the English press; prohibit the citizens from meeting or speaking in public; prevent them from associating together, as they may think proper; see that the elections be conducted in secrecy and silence, and in a very short period you will have *Venice* instead of *London*. Yet all the forms of the constitution shall religiously be preserved; and more than one politician may still continue to indulge in ecstasies on the exact balance of the several constituent powers of the republic. Between the 43rd and 51st degree of latitude, there does exist a country which has nearly come to this. But as long as a certain word remains written on a certain piece of paper, for a great portion

of mankind, it is quite sufficient. It reminds one of the horse which Orlando dragged after him: the beast was an admirable one, it is true, but it had one defect, that of being *dead*.

No. XXII.

WATERFORD ELECTION.

I.—*First Address of Lord George Beresford to the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, of the County of Waterford.*

Gentlemen,

I would not have intruded myself upon your attention, at a time when the exercise of your elective franchise must be distant, did I not fear that my silence might be misinterpreted; and I should indeed regret, that any of those friends whose independent support has rendered my success certain (let a dissolution of parliament take place when it may), should believe that the security with which they have invested me can ever make me unmindful that it is to their kindness I owe it.

I fully agree with my juvenile antagonist, that the result of the approaching contest will do much to determine the real nature of the elective franchise—to determine whether property is to have its due weight, and whether the long-cherished relations of landlord and tenant are to exert their fair and legitimate influence, or whether the political obedience of the Roman Catholic freeholder is due to his spiritual guide—and whether the county of Waterford is to put forth its

strength in the dignity of independence, or to crouch to a coalition hatched and held together by a few demagogues, unconnected with your county, who claim that toleration they have never practised.

Gentlemen,

I seek a seat in parliament at your hands, as an object of ambition—of honest, of honourable ambition. I seek your independent support upon principles as independent, and offer myself to your consideration, not as an *intolerant or party man* (as has been invidiously alleged against me), but as an independent candidate, unshackled by coalition, unfettered by associations, unsubdued by demagogues, unawed by power, and unpledged to the support of men or measures; free as that glorious constitution which we justly prize as our dearest inheritance, and determined conscientiously and fearlessly to support the best interests of my native country and of the empire at large.

Upon these principles I rest my pretensions, and solicit your powerful and constitutional support, to rebuke and annihilate the unnatural and intolerant combination formed against your rights and independence. Nor can I for a moment doubt that your spirited and patriotic exertions will maintain me in the proud situation which I now hold, and in which my family and myself have long had the honour to serve you.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your much obliged and devoted Servant,

GEORGE T. BERESFORD.

Curraghmore, 21st October, 1825.

II.—*Address of H. Villiers Stuart, Esq. to the Gentlemen, Clergymen, and Freeholders, of the County Waterford.*

Gentlemen,

Called upon as I have been by a great majority of the independent electors, I feel it my duty to announce without further delay my intention of offering myself as a candidate for the representation of your county at the next election.

Little known as yet in public life, I could not think of soliciting your suffrages without giving you previously an open and explicit declaration of my political sentiments.

To the British constitution, which is the basis of our liberties and our glory, I feel an ardent attachment; and as Catholic emancipation is that measure which in my mind is best calculated to uphold and strengthen it, my constant and most strenuous exertions shall be directed towards its accomplishment. In making this declaration, my motive is not one of selfish policy, which would accommodate principle to temporary advantage. I am influenced by a strong sense of the justice of the claims of my Catholic fellow-subjects, and by an entire confidence in the honesty of their views and principles. The desire which they manifest, with so unequivocal a unanimity, to be relieved from disabilities and to share in the privileges of the state, while it affords a proof that they duly appreciate the value of a free constitution, gives the strongest and best assurance of their dis-

position to maintain it.—Every true friend to the real welfare of the empire must be deeply interested in the success of this great measure. Ireland can never prosper nor enjoy tranquillity, nor will the security of England rest on a solid basis, whilst seven millions of inhabitants are kept, on account of tenets purely religious, in a state of political servitude.

As I mean now to have the honour of making personal application to each of you, I deem it right to make this explicit avowal as to the terms upon which I aspire to the high honour of becoming one of your representatives in parliament. I would not purchase a single vote by any artful disguise of my sentiments upon a subject of such paramount interest to the empire at large, and of such peculiar importance to the county of Waterford; and if I have the misfortune of differing with any of my friends upon this great and vital question, I have only to claim that indulgence to which honest conviction is justly entitled.

With every feeling of respect,

I have the honour to remain,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient humble Servant,

HENRY VILLIERS STUART.

Waterford, August 8, 1825.

III.—*Sum Total of the Poll.*

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|------|
| Mr. Power | . | . | . | . | 1424 |
| Mr. Stuart | . | . | . | . | 1357 |
| Lord George Beresford | . | . | . | . | 528 |

Besides upwards of *seven hundred freeholders* more, who were ready to come to the poll, for Pôwer and Stuart, when his Lordship *gave in*.

No. XXIII.

ORDER OF LIBERATORS.

Rules and Regulations of the Order.

The Order of the Liberators is a voluntary association of Irishmen for purposes legal and useful to Ireland.

The objects of "The Order" are these:—

I. As a mode of expressing the gratitude and confidence of the people for past services:—

II. To form a society of persons, who will consider it a duty due to their country to effectuate the following purposes:—

No. 1. To prevent the formation or continuance in their respective vicinages of any secret society or confederacy whatsoever, the greatest evil in Ireland, and that which has tended most to prevent the success of her efforts to meliorate the condition of the people, being secret societies. No person who is not deeply convinced of this truth, can belong to the Order of Liberators.

No. 2. To conciliate all classes of Irishmen in one bond of brotherhood and affection, so that all religious animosities may for ever cease among Irishmen.

No. 3. To bury in total and eternal oblivion all ancient animosities and reproaches, no matter by whom inflicted or who may be the sufferer.

No. 4. To prevent the future occurrence of feuds

and riots at markets, fairs, and patrons, and to reconcile the parties and factions which have hitherto disgraced many parts of Ireland.

No. 5. To promote the collection of a national fund for national purposes, as far as that can be done consistently with law.

No. 6. To protect all persons possessed of the elective franchise, and especially the forty-shilling freeholders, from all vindictive proceedings on account of the free exercise of such franchise.

No. 7. To promote the acquisition of such franchise, and its due registry, to ascertain the number of votes in each county and city in Ireland, and the political bias of the voters generally.

No. 8. To promote the system of dealing exclusively with the friends of civil and religious liberty, Protestant and Catholic, with a selection, when a choice can be made, of Protestant friends, being the most disinterested of the two; and also to prevent, as much as possible, all dealing with the enemies of Ireland, whether Protestant Orangemen, or Orange Catholics, the worst of all Orangeists.

No. 9. To promote the exclusive use of articles the growth and manufacture of Ireland.

No. 10. To form two distinct tribunals in every county, with branches in every town and village therein—the one for the purpose of reconciling differences, and procuring parties to adjust their litigations and disputes, and the other tribunal for the purpose of deciding, by arbitration, litigations and disputes between parties who may resist a settlement without arbitration.

No. XXIV.

DUTIES OF INSPECTORS AND CHURCH-
WARDENS.

The committee having taken into consideration the subject of the appointment of five inspectors of Catholic Rent in each county, have agreed to the following report:—

That such appointment would manifestly be of the greatest utility, in order the better to organise and extend the collection of the Catholic Rent to every Parish in Ireland; but to render the appointment of permanent value, it is necessary it should be made by the inhabitants of each county for themselves.

In order to obtain the co-operation of the counties in this most useful measure, the committee do strongly recommend the Association to appoint from amongst their members one chief or head inspector of Catholic Rent for each county.

That it be the duty of such inspector to repair without delay to the county for which he shall be appointed, and take all necessary measures to effectuate the following purposes:—

- I. To procure the appointment of five local inspectors of Catholic Rent in and for each county.

- II. To procure such inspectors to divide, and to assist them in dividing, the county into five districts of parishes, so as to make each district as nearly equal as may be most convenient, having regard to the local circumstances of each county.

III. To arrange with the local inspectors, and personally to assist them in procuring the nomination of Catholic churchwardens in every parish in the county.

IV. To arrange with the local inspectors and churchwardens to have the Catholic Rent collected in each parish on the first Sunday in every month—such Sunday to be called Catholic Rent Sunday.

V. That each inspector be authorised and required to organise the collection of the Catholic Rent in every parish, with the assistance of the local inspectors and churchwardens, as far as he can procure the same ; but that it be an indispensable duty upon him to have the Rent put into a state of collection as speedily as possible, even previously to the appointment of local inspectors or churchwardens.

VI. That the chief inspector do give full instructions to the local inspectors and churchwardens for the discharge of their respective duties.

VII. That the duties of the local inspectors are as follows:—

To make a return once a month to the Catholic Association, giving in detail—

1st. The names of the parishes in the district in one column.

2nd. The name and address of each Catholic clergyman in such district in a separate column.

3rd. The name and address of each Catholic churchwarden in his district in a separate column.

4th. The names of the parishes in which there are no churchwardens appointed in a separate column ; and to add to such last-mentioned column such measures as

the inspector has taken to procure the appointment of churchwardens in the parishes contained in such last-mentioned column.

5th. The names of the parishes in which the Catholic Rent has been collected during the preceding month, and the amount of such collection, and how it has been disposed of.

6th. The names of the parishes in which no Catholic Rent has been collected in the preceding month, and to state any suggestions that he may deem useful for extending the collection of the Catholic Rent to the defaulting parishes.

VIII. That the duties of the Catholic churchwardens be—

1st. To assist the parochial clergy in all affairs relating to temporal concerns of the parish and its schools, and other charities which the parochial clergy may confide to them.

2nd. To procure parish collectors of Catholic Rent, to any extent that may be required to complete the collection of the Catholic Rent within that parish.

3rd. To give notice on the last Sunday of every month that the ensuing Sunday, being the first Sunday of the month, would be the Catholic Rent Sunday.

4th. To attend, either in person or by a deputy, at each mass on the Catholic Rent Sunday, and to receive all such sums as may be voluntarily contributed.

5th. To give all useful information to the local inspectors of the district for the better collection and arrangement of the Catholic Rent.

6th. To make a monthly report to the Catholic Association of Ireland on the following heads:—

1st. As to the amount of Catholic Rent collected in the parish within the month.

2nd. The number of registered freeholders.

3rd. Whether there be any and what number of persons capable of being registered as freeholders, but who are not so.

4th. The known or at least probable political bias of the freeholders, stating as well as can be done the comparative numbers of each party.

5th. The number of schools in the parish, and how supported—and whether on liberal principles, or the Kildare Place, or other improper plan.

6th. To state all matters of local grievance in the parish, especially with respect to any magisterial delinquency.

7th. To state the situation of the parish in relation to tithes, parish cess, and county rates.

The Committee earnestly recommend the adoption of the plan of naming for, and sending to, each county a chief or head inspector, so as to arrange and organise the collection of the Catholic Rent in such a manner as to procure those abundant resources which the present state of the cause of civil and religious liberty so pressingly requires.

The following duties the Committee deem to belong equally and vitally to each class of persons engaged in any way in the collection of the Catholic Rent:—

1st. To prevent the existence of Whiteboy disturbances of every species and description.

2nd. To prevent the existence of any secret societies whatsoever.

3rd. To prevent the taking of illegal oaths of any nature or kind whatsoever.

4th. To put an end to party feuds and quarrels of all kinds.

5th. To take care that an accurate census of each parish be procured.

6th. To collect signatures to the several petitions, and transmit them for presentation.

7th. To promote peaceable and moral conduct, and universal charity and benevolence, amongst all classes.

The committee are aware that success cannot, and indeed ought not to be attained, unless we procure the countenance and assistance of the Catholic clergy.—That venerated and most exemplary class of men, will give us their assistance on the terms only of our deserving that assistance.

JOHN JOSEPH MURPHY, Chairman.

No. XXV.

LIBERAL CLUBS.

*Letter of Mr. Wyse, Jun. on the Organization of
Liberal Clubs.*

Waterford, July 30, 1828.

Sir,

It has always occurred to me that the great defect in our entire system was—the want of a good organization. By good, I mean, a uniform, universal, permanent, system of enlightened and energetic co-operation. Co-operation we, no doubt, have, and much intelligence,

and more energy; but the other requisites still appear to be eminently wanting. To say that Ireland feels as one man, is merely saying that there is common suffering, common pursuit, and common sympathy; but floating loosely over society, without order or combination, this feeling is not yet of sufficient practical avail. Like similar powers in the physical world, unless pressed, by skill and management, into proper directions and combinations, for any really useful result, they might as well not exist. We want a well-digested system of political tactics, emanating from a single point, and extending in circle upon circle, until it shall embrace the entire nation. We want not merely an electrical spark here and there from the body, surprising and astonishing for a moment, but a continued stream of the fluid, a regularly augmenting system of light and power. The materials lie in abundance around us;—the time is come to give them shape and utility;—we have no longer to create—we have only to make use of what we have created—we have only to sit down and apply and arrange—the materials are in our hands.

Our public business has hitherto been carried on by aggregate meetings of *all* Ireland (as they are called), by county meetings, city meetings, parish meetings, and the Association. Now all these are excellent things when properly brought to act together: the defect I complain of is, that they are not. They are isolated, desultory, seldom held in concert, and almost never in reference or relation to each other. I do not say that they are of little use, but I say they might be of a great deal more. I would not keep them separated and

unconnected, but I would hang one upon the other; I would try to make them, not, as they are, a *series* of *links*, but a *chain*. The *aggregate meetings of all Ireland*, for instance, are absolute illusions. The very name is a misnomer. All Ireland is indeed summoned, but, debarred as we are from delegation, all Ireland cannot come. Few of our provincial gentry are ever present: the middle and lower classes, in this extended sense, not at all. Fictions, political as well as legal, may go very far, but I know of none which can convert the men of Dublin into the men of Waterford and Cork. It is true they *generally* express the same or similar opinions, but this is a coincidence, not a result. There is no representation, the usual remedy for this defect: the nation is not present either in person or by attorney. But how is this to be obviated, and what can we do? Simply this—hold the meetings if we like, but give them a right name; call them the aggregate meetings of the county and city of Dublin, which they *are*, and not the meetings of *all* Ireland, which they certainly are *not*.

The *County meetings* are scarcely better constituted. They are, too often, the mere accompaniments of an assizes. If there be an eloquent or loquacious Catholic on the circuit, they take place; if sick or absent, they do not. Like the man of Roderick Dhu, they spring up where the bar treads; when the bar passes on, they sink into the ground. This is no evil for public men, and perhaps a slight one for the country: in all cases I believe it to be inevitable. Country gentlemen are not easily to be got together at any other time of the year.

They love their home first, and then their country, and are always ready to attend to her interests whenever they find them (which sometimes happens) in company with their own. Besides, though tolerable listeners, they are bad speakers, and it is natural and proper they should avail themselves of the transit of a star. But what, after all, is the real use of this? Has a half-yearly speech or two ever yet regenerated a country?

The parishes, till within these few years back, were mere brute matter—absolutely inert or dead. The clergy were doubting or afraid; they had the memory of the past—the shadows, and dreams, and hobgoblins of the night, about them still. The people were what the clergy and gentry made them; newspapers were not only not read, but not written—the schoolmaster, if abroad, was in the shape of an oppressor, and not as he now is, of a deliverer—the scholar saw the charter house in instruction, and could not bear to be whipped and persecuted into education. The peasant knew no other country than his farm—no law but tithe law on one side, and his own guerilla law on the other—no rights but the half rights, the miserable crumbs which fell by inadvertence from the table of his bloated and rack-rent landlord. By degrees, and by slow degrees, the thing altered. The government, dreaming about its own wretched interests, whilst the interests of a nation were at stake, letting loose the reins, and then pulling them back—committing the people to themselves, and then exciting them when so committed, was the chief cause of this great revolution. Then came

the imbecilities of the local ascendancy masters. The people and their strength were set at defiance—their pride was goaded—they were gradually, fully, and effectually, roused. The slave conquered: the tax-master was trampled to the earth. Waterford, Louth, &c. vindicated the honour of our national spirit and intelligence. The people got tired of kneeling, and rose up almost in one mass, and walked, in a few days, as if they had never been in the dust. Two or three elections did more in educating them to a proper sense of their wrongs and power, than all the petitioning, and groveling, and chiding, of the last half century. Then came the *simultaneous* meetings, an excellent measure; and had they taken place on any other day than on a Sunday—a mighty miracle. As it was, there was illusion in the business. The petition came to them—they did not go to the petition. But the thing was begun—the *week-day* will come *yet*—we cannot retrograde—and who is he who now dare say to the nation, “Thou shalt not advance further?”

Throughout all this, then, there is the grand deficiency which I have already pointed out—the want of uniform, universal, and permanent co-operation. Meetings of a day—meetings of bodies, totally unconnected with each other, will not do. To do any thing, men must belong to each other; that what they do should last, their exertions must be constant and systematic. Holiday impulses, anniversary explosions, are, like all other kinds of fire-works, grand things; but it is not by poetry, but by prose, that we are to succeed—by the common-place, plodding, persevering habit of every day.

The morning and evening thought of peer and peasant must be his wrongs—his wrongs—his wrongs. This in the first place ; and, next, how he may best, and most constitutionally, and most effectively, get rid of them. His chains, like those of Columbus, should be for ever in his sight : it is right he should feel them, weigh on and gnaw them, in order that they may determine him, by his own exertions, to throw them off. Then he should learn to estimate his strength. No man is feeble with the nation behind him. The smallest meeting must be taught that they hang upon a still greater ; every peasant must feel (profoundly and strongly feel) that he is an integral part of his country. There must be many hands like Briareus, but, like Briareus also, these hands must have but one heart and one head to guide them.

The Association, old and new, attempted to achieve this ; but I may be pardoned, I hope, in saying, that they went wrongly about it. They continued pouring in, day after day, new streams of electricity—charging with the animating fluid numberless portions of the political machine—generating steam as occasion suggested ; but a great deal of this was done at random, and no provision was made or attempted, when such powers were fully produced, for their temperate and judicious application. Besides the danger which they exposed us to in this wandering and uncontrolled shape, they did not allow us to bring one-half of our energies, and that half but feebly, into play. At the same time, both Associations had their utility ; they did much—they struck the spark out of the flint—they created life within the dead

—they gave us the materials—they prepared—they animated—they created. Their errors were inseparable from their constitution: if, sometimes, too much the medium for local and individual varieties, the fault was in the very nature of the body, much more than in the members. What could be expected from an assembly which was not representative, and which, of course, must have been, in many instances, too much Dublin, and too little Ireland? This, if not counteracted by many circumstances, would have been a serious evil. No country is healthy where the heart drinks away life from the members. As long as France was absorbed in Paris, there was no freedom. America, to this day, has, properly speaking, no capital.

But are these evils to be remedied? I think they are, and am astonished they have not been remedied earlier. The form which, of all others, I confess I should prefer, for the administration of our affairs, is that system of delegation upon which was constructed the general committee of 1793. But from this we are precluded by the Convention act, or rather its interpretation. We have only then to choose what comes nearest to that system; I care not for the form, provided the essentials be the same. We must, at all events, have the uniformity, the universality, the permanence which I have recommended. In the materials already before us, with a little modification, these requisites may be found. This is an advantage. A wise man will as little as possible disturb existing habits; he will only use them in another way, and for other purposes. The point is, I repeat it, not to create (that we have done

already); but having created, not to squander, but apply.

1. The Association, the central point, the head well of all the public feeling in our body, might stand as it is, too many public, and, perhaps, too many private interests existing to allow any material alteration: if such were practicable, that is, palatable, perhaps it might be converted with advantage into a head or presiding club, augmenting its forces, by monthly ballot, from the country and city clubs all over Ireland.

2. County and city clubs might be instituted in every county. They are thus separated, because their objects, though not their interests, may occasionally differ.

3. Every city club might be composed of—1st, Original subscribers within one month, the nucleus of the club. 2ndly, The members balloted for after the expiration of that period. 3rdly, The rent collectors, as honorary members, with or without the power of voting, as might be judged expedient. The two first classes might furnish the materials for committees, for the purpose of conducting proceedings, for the restoration of defrauded rights, as far as the laws might permit, under the name of committees of management. The third class, besides combining with the other two, would be eminently serviceable as a committee of inquiry, investigating registries of freeholders, admissions of freemen, and directly communicating (within the limits of the statute) with the rent or parish clubs established by the people.

4. Every county club might be composed of the two first classes. They should establish parish clubs in

every parish in their respective counties. This might be done by a committee of gentlemen, who should make a circuit of the county. Each parish club might consist of the clergy, gentry, churchwardens, and a certain number of the respectable farmers of the parish.

5. The committees of each county and city club should meet, at least, once a week; there should be ordinary meetings once a month, and extraordinary meetings twice a year.

By this system, the affairs of the Catholics of Ireland might be conducted with precision, constancy, unanimity, and uniformity.

1. The Association might have the *initiative* of our proceedings. It should recommend the period most proper for the holding of provincial, county, and parish meetings.

2. The county and city clubs should provide for the execution of this recommendation. 1st, By convening aggregate meetings in their respective counties and city. 2ndly, By these meetings recommending provincial meetings, and convening them. 3rdly, By simultaneous parish meetings, confirming the whole.

3. A general meeting of fourteen days might conclude the series. It should be held, of course, in Dublin, after the termination of county, provincial, and parish meetings, and immediately previous to the sitting of parliament.

The principal members of the parish clubs should pledge themselves to attend the county meetings, the principal members of the county meetings and clubs in

like manner the provincial meetings, and the principal attendants of the provincial meetings the general fourteen days' meeting of the Association. Thus might be obtained a regular, authentic, and continued statement of the feelings and progress of every portion, however small, of the entire country.

As the facilities which such a system affords for communication and dissemination of newspapers, tracts, addresses, political catechisms, &c., they do not require to be insisted on. Any person who has seen it in operation during an election, will well know how to appreciate its advantages.

By such a system, the Catholic, or rather independent constituency of Ireland, will be completely disciplined, and will not need any application of extraordinary stimulants to rouse them to a sense of their constitutional duty. Every county, in a few months, will naturally, and almost of itself, become a Clare or a Waterford. The electors will be home-taught—they will learn well—they will remember long.—The county club, and the city club, and the parish club, the club, I may say, of every place and of every hour, will keep up the feeling to a determined, enlightened, vigorous temper. The passion will become conviction, and the conviction habit. Every man will become familiar with his rights; he will know where to look for and how to obtain them. The knowledge will then practically work; the dissolution of parliament will, some time or other, come, and entire Ireland will be fully prepared. If, then, we leave a Jocelyn, or a Foster, or a Beresford to represent us, whilst we have Stuarts, and Grattans, and Dawsons,

and it may be O'Connells, to represent us, the fault will be with ourselves, not with our destiny, and from that hour forth we ought to bear our destiny like willing slaves, and not dare to raise our heads and rail insolently against it.

A third advantage, and it is inestimable, is the controlling influence which such a system gives us over the tumultuary feelings of the country. It suppresses all private feud; it extinguishes all party dissension; it breaks up those pernicious secret societies, which, at times, have wasted so much of the energies of our people; it prevents the recurrence of all those angry and insane ebullitions, which a government hostile to the people can so easily magnify or fan into insurrection. Political ameliorations in the present state of human knowledge are not to be obtained by physical force. This is a great truth, and cannot be too constantly or strongly inculcated. Despotism is to be combated with other arms than those of the flesh. The people must be taught this every where and at every hour: they must be taught to look up to a higher principle of strength, to that great moral power arising from the concert and universality of constitutional exertion, which no government, had it the head of Pitt, and the arm of Wellington, can resist long, or resist at all, consistently with its own happiness and power. We must teach them every where, how very inconvenient and annoying it is for a haughty master to have too many discontented slaves. We must convert oppression from a luxury to a pain; the aggrieved many must make themselves felt in the midst of all the enjoyments and superiorities of

the oppressing few. This lesson is learning rapidly—the feeling is every where—the intelligence which is to guide it is coming after—the combination only, which is necessary to make this efficient, yet remains behind. But that depends not on our enemies, but on ourselves. Thank God, our regeneration can come, and is coming from within. Practice is making us perfect; what was thought impossible yesterday, is done to-day—what we do to-day, will be laughed at to-morrow—I will not say, God grant it may. It is not the *wish* we want, but the *will*. With that *will*, universal and uniform, what can we not obtain? What is there in the men of Louth, Waterford, or Clare, that is not in the men of Ireland?—This only—that they had order, system, organization—and why should not all Ireland have, at this moment, the *same*?

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

THOMAS WYSE, Jun.*

To Edw. Dwyer, Esq.

Secrétary of the Catholic Association.

* Another letter on the improvement of clubs was addressed by Mr. Wyse to the Association a few days previous to the last aggregate meeting in Dublin, in which he suggests the propriety of calling upon the Catholics of Ireland to assemble in a species of *Annual Session*, immediately previous to the meeting of parliament, on the principle and for the purposes for which were adopted the fourteen days' meeting of the New Association. The collection of as large a portion of the scattered opinion of the country into one focus as possible being the great object in view, he proposed that the Secretary to the Catholics of Ireland should, a fortnight before the day fixed for the sittings, address a circular to the Secretaries of every county and city club in Ireland, "requesting them to impress upon their most active and intelligent members the absolute necessity of their giving their attendance at the proposed meeting, and delivering a return,

At the Munster Provincial Meeting, held 26th August, 1828, at Clonmel, it was moved by James Roe, of Rocsborough, and seconded by Thomas Wyse of the Manor of St. John, Esq., Jun.*

That we most earnestly recommend the formation of Liberal Clubs in each county and city in Munster, with branches in each parish, for the purpose of securing the due registration of freeholders; the obtaining of the freedom of cities, towns, and boroughs; the correcting abuses by legal means; the contesting illegal cesses, grand jury taxation and vexatious tithes; the preventing secret societies, illegal oaths, and every manner of white-boy outrage; the discouraging of party riots, drunkenness, and village faction; and promoting the peaceable co-operation of all the people in constitutional and legal exertions for the freedom and happiness of Ireland.

before the expiration of the week, of such members as would pledge themselves to attend." Mr. Wyse conceived that such a measure would be the completion of the Liberal Club system; as it would combine all the advantages desirable from a mean between the Association and the County and City clubs. If, the day after, the Association had been suppressed, it would have been a day too late. The Association would fall back into the clubs—the clubs might be scattered, but the members would endure.

* This was the first Provincial meeting, which sanctioned the principle advanced by the Catholics, of demanding the following pledges from all future candidates at elections; viz. 1st, Opposition to the Wellington administration. 2ndly, Support of the Catholic Question. 3rdly, Of reform in parliament. The latter pledge formed the subject of a warm discussion at Clonmel and Kilkenny, but was acceded to, more from a wish to preserve the unanimity of the body, than the policy of the proposition. At this meeting an appeal was made to the Irish members friendly to the cause, to assemble in Dublin previous to the parliamentary session; and the appointment of provincial inspectors of the Catholic Rent was also agreed to.

A similar resolution had been passed by the aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, and this was followed by the other provincial meetings of Ireland.

*Extract of a Letter to the Editor of the Cork Chronicle
on the Objects and Utility of Liberal Clubs.*

Firstly,—A Liberal Club would, in whatever parish or district it is formed, serve as a centre, as a band of union, as a rallying point, for the “men of good-will” of all religions and of all classes, belonging to such parish or such district. The Protestant and the Catholic, the Methodist and the Presbyterian, the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned, all but immoral men, would be eligible to be members of it. Observe the good that would flow from this Irish convention. Men who now think alike on politics, but who seldom come together, various circumstances in life keeping them apart, would be congregated in a liberal club; and associating and working as they would be for common purposes, they would find in the community of their interests, and the ardour and honesty of their co-operation, motives for an increase of mutual confidence and mutual affection. The Protestant would withdraw from the business or the conviviality of a liberal club, with a determination to add to the number of our Brownlows; and the Catholic would withdraw from the same, with a firm resolve to obliterate the past from his own mind, and to efface the memory of it from the minds of all those over whom he may possess influence. Classes, too, not distinguished by religious difference, would have their advantage. The rich member of the club would descry qualities in the poor

member, for which he might not have given him full credit before, and he would communicate the discovery to his wealthy neighbours; and the poor member again would see that arrogance and heartlessness were not the necessary concomitants of riches, and the lesson he would have learned, he too would impart to his fellows. Thus the uniting principle of the club would operate far beyond the club itself; and ten men of good will would create ten hundred like themselves. This would be the prime feature of a liberal club.

Secondly,—A liberal club would leave no stone unturned to insure for the county, city, or borough, to which it belonged, a full, free, cheap, honest, and efficient representation in parliament. It would increase the freehold registry to the utmost limits of extension, and maintain it so. It would do every thing in its power that the franchise in corporate towns should be employed for the good of the public, and not for the private ends of corporators. It would labour that honest men should be returned to parliament without expense, and that knaves should be beggared in their attempt to foist themselves upon the representation. It would reform the House of Commons, by reforming the electors, who are supposed to constitute it. No member of a liberal club would have the hardihood to expect, that any man who had expended ten or twelve thousand pounds in getting a seat in the legislature, would employ his purchase for the public. The club would labour that the public should have the giving of the seat, and that honesty, intelligence, and efficiency, should be the exclusive claims to it.

Thirdly,—A liberal club would be useful in pointing

out all those matters which might be fit subjects for parliamentary influence, and in seeing that the petitions arising out of them were seasonably got up, properly signed, and duly forwarded to the local representatives; and a liberal club would note whether those representatives neglected the petitions intrusted to them, supported their prayer, or opposed it. It is at once ludicrous and melancholy to observe how this work of petitioning has been hitherto done, or rather not done, in Ireland. You, Sir, I believe, have a tolerably correct notion how those affairs are managed; but it may not be amiss to expose the system, or the want of system, in this particular, to those who may deem liberal clubs unnecessary. In the April of the last year, I think it was, an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of the city and county of Cork assembled in the south parish chapel of your city, and adopted two among other resolutions. One of these resolutions pledged those who adopted it "to petition the legislature for a full, free, and entire representation of the people of this island in the Commons House of Parliament." It was proposed by the member for Clare, and seconded by Mr. Richard Ronayne. The second resolution denounced the compulsory payment of the Irish Protestant clergy by the Irish Catholic people; and it also contained a pledge to seek parliamentary redress. This latter resolution was, I remember, proposed by Mr. James Daly, who certainly made some very pertinent observations in introducing it, and gave no promise that the complaint which he uttered would not be echoed in St. Stephen's. What, however, has been the fact respecting both those resolutions? Not a

single petition has gone forth from your city or county touching the one or the other of them. We can find persons enough to speak, but few to do the work. Far be it from me here to glance disparagingly at Mr. O'Connell: that gentleman has done the work of his country, and is doing it. The blame lies with gentlemen of this city and county; but there would be blame with none, if liberal clubs had been established. Such clubs, as a matter of course, would take up the great principles of civil and religious liberty. They would study that no resolution but a good one should be adopted by the people; and, when adopted, they would see that it was carried into execution.

Fourthly,—A liberal club would be useful in directing attention to all meetings where any thing of property or right, belonging to the public, would be to be disposed of, whether those meetings be called by act of parliament, or by corporate authority, or by vestry, or by party, or by individual. So much mischief has been done from time to time to the public under the sanction of meetings at which the public may be supposed to be present, but of which the public actually knew nothing, that the most unreflecting must see how very beneficially employed a liberal club would be in this particular. Some of the worst acts, general and municipal, which disgrace the statute book, some of the veriest blots of Irish legislation would never have been heard of, had there been Liberal clubs to nip the evil in the bud, to strangle it in its infancy. The foulest invasions of private right and of public liberty would be prevented, if those who first suggested the

aggression had been met at the outset of their proceedings, and if public opinion had been brought to bear properly against them. Take for instance any of our Corporations. Why, as matters stood hitherto, the public were altogether at their mercy; those bodies could do any thing, because they could proceed with a virtual secrecy. There was no check, no opposition to them; and hence they could have their Wide-street Commissioners bills, their Harbour Commissioners bills, and their Trustees of Corn-market bills, and their Court of Conscience and Police-office bills, and their Weigh-house and Pipe-water Establishments bill. Were these good, or were they bad for your city? Were they designed to promote the public welfare, or to strengthen the hands of a party? Were they measures such as ought to be praised, or such as ought to be reprobated? The citizens of Cork had no control in originating, modifying, or perfecting them; *but a Liberal club would*; it would teach the Corporation to respect public opinion; or if it failed in that, it would then have two representatives who would be sure to represent it. It is, however, in preparing for the Easter vestry meetings that your liberal club would be eminently useful. It would have every man in the parish ready at his post, to raise his voice against taxation without representation: it would send its honest Protestant there to protect against injustice, to shame him who would praise Heaven and plunder his neighbour; and it would send the Catholic there to vote when he may, and to learn when he may not. We must all see that it was most unreasonable to throw, as

heretofore, the burden of the vestry war on some few individuals. The latter might, to be sure, have been prodigal of their services in the cause of their country. The business of all, however, should be executed by all, and it is only when all take it up, that it is discharged efficiently.

Fifthly,—A liberal club would employ the press, prudently, universally, and permanently, for the enlightening of the people. It would adopt or select those political journals, tracts, or catechisms, which would be best calculated for the instruction of the public, and it would take good care that they should receive the widest possible circulation. It would teach the people their rights and duties. It would teach them the obligations of the magistrate, and the duties of the citizen; it would tell them what it is to be an elector, and what a representative; it would point out the road to parliament, as the road to the redress of public grievances, telling them at the same time, that with themselves lay the appointment of the redresser; it would recommend reform, and depict revolution, and it would show how criminal would be the latter, if attempted by persons who could quietly compass the former. All this a liberal club would do, and doing this, it would be each day diminishing its own labour, and causing itself to be less needed.

Sixthly,—A liberal club would prove its utility by reconciling factions—by discountenancing the formation of illegal associations—by keeping the people on their guard against emissaries—by labouring that private and public peace should be the characteristic of the country. With a view to these ends, so desirable, so

necessary, the attention of the club would be directed to that curse of Ireland, “ the excessive use of spirituous liquors.” The drunken man is prone to riot; he is easily induced by fools or knaves to act seditiously, or to speak so. The drunkard, therefore, could not be a member of any liberal club. Such a character would be outlawed. Two thousand parishes would, by their clubs, reprobate the brute as unfit for moral enjoyment or social intercourse; and would not this be a great good for Ireland? What legislation could effect for this country any result half so beneficial? Now liberal clubs would realise it in twelve months; they would render drunkenness unpopular. The Irish drunkard would soon be like the French, and the Spanish, and the American drunkard, not laughed at, but detested—detested, as abominable and infamous.

Seventhly,—Liberal clubs would, and it would be a great desideratum, free the Catholic clergy from the heavy yoke of politics. Those gentlemen have not entered into that *arena*, in which they now cut so conspicuous a figure, from choice, but from necessity. They were forced into it. They saw that the system which prevails, led to disorder, to outrage, to gross immorality, to the peril of the rich, to the ruin of the poor; they saw, likewise, that it was pregnant with evils, greater than any it had ever before engendered: with this they perceived that the remedy lay with the legislature, and they girt themselves accordingly, that the legislature might be favourable. However, though the priests greatly contributed to send in Dawson for Louth, and Stuart for Waterford, and O’Connell for Clare

still they were not "vessels" of this "election," and they felt that they had a higher and a loftier vocation; they could not but regret that the laity did not know and could not do their own duty. It would then be an inexpressible delight to any Roman Catholic clergyman, that a liberal club should be established in his parish. He would be sure that by such an institution a knowledge of their rights would be secured to his flock, and with it a knowledge how constitutionally to assert them. As a matter of course, even liberal Protestants would be glad that there would be no further occasion for clerical interference. Whilst they would be ready to admit, that it had been necessary and useful, they would like to have the bugbear removed from the ken of their less liberal brethren.

Eighthly,—Liberal clubs would be very valuable in their exhibition of *working* men. The member of a liberal club, who would merely speak, might be listened to, but he would be certainly laughed at; the individual, too, who would honour the club once a year with his notice, and do no more, would be in like odour. None but the active men would be regarded—those who would give most practical effect to the principle of the club; that is, those who would do the greatest portion of the public business. This result of the institution of clubs would be most gratifying; for it is really most mortifying to see men, who are not known at all to the public, coming forward at election times, and other seasons, and assuming airs of consequence, as though they were the greatest benefactors of that public, and demi-gods in the eyes of all others, as they are great gods in

their own. All this tribe will be opposed to liberal clubs, because the clubs will be greater than all of them together, and the most hard-working man in the club the most honoured, and the most influential in it.

I could, Sir, proceed with several other matters of great import, in which a liberal club would be useful ; but I feel that I have encroached too much on your space, and that I have trespassed on the patience also of your readers. I shall therefore close this letter, by wishing sincerely that all Ireland had clubs, the operations of which were steadily directed to the purposes which I have recited above. How unlike they would be to those Orange pandemonia, where nothing but blood is spoken of ! Do, Sir, proceed in advocating the institution of liberal clubs. The faction is already organised ; it cannot progress ; but the Irish people *may*, by, as Wyse says, a universal, uniform, permanent system of enlightened and energetic organization for constitutional ends and purposes.

*Rules and Regulations for the Formation of
County Clubs.**

The rules and regulations of the “ County of ——— Liberal Club ” are divided into five sections. 1st, Of the members, their admission and qualification. 2nd, Of the officers and committees of the club. 3rd, Of the

* The rules both for the county clubs and the parish clubs were modified according to the circumstances of the times, and the exigencies of the several parishes and counties.

meetings of the club. 4th, Of the order of business at the meetings. 5th, Of the adding to, or amending, or abrogation of the rules and regulations of the club.

I.—OF THE MEMBERS, &c.

1st—Pursuant to the resolutions of the aggregate meeting, held ———, instituting the county of ——— liberal club, it shall consist of the following members:—

I.—Original members, or those who, within the period of one month from the date of said aggregate meeting, subscribe, or shall subscribe.

II.—Members by ballot, or those who, after the expiration of such period, shall be balloted for and admitted.

2nd—A ballot shall be held once every three months at the ordinary meetings. One black bean in five shall exclude. The candidates must give in their names to the secretary a week before.

3rd—Every member shall pay a subscription on admission of 30s., and thenceforth the same sum on the 1st January annually. Till paid, no member shall be allowed to vote, speak, or in any way interfere in the concerns of the club; and if unpaid for a month after becoming due, he forthwith ceases to be a member of the club.

4th—Every member on being received, shall subscribe to these rules and regulations, and the following

PROMISE.

I promise, on the honour of a gentleman, to observe the rules and regulations of the county of ——— liberal

club, and, in case I shall infringe them, to submit to exclusion, should the club assembled in extraordinary meeting deem fit.

II.—OF THE OFFICERS, &c.

1st—The club shall be governed by a president, secretary, and treasurer, to be chosen half-yearly, at the extraordinary meetings of the club.

2nd—The business of the club in the interval of the meetings, shall be conducted by a committee of management, varying in numbers according as circumstances may require.

3rd—This committee shall be chosen and its duties prescribed at the extraordinary meetings of the club.

4th—The governing officers of the club shall, *ex-officio*, be members of the committee.

III.—OF THE MEETINGS, &c.

1st—The committee shall meet for the transaction of business every week, on such day as they may find most convenient. These meetings shall be called Committee meetings.

2nd—The club shall meet by public advertisement, to transact business, and receive the reports of the committee, every three months. These meetings shall be called Ordinary meetings.

3rd—The club shall meet by individual summons from the secretary, and dine together twice a year, at the period of the assizes, to transact business, and receive the reports of the ordinary meetings. These meetings shall be called Extraordinary meetings.

4th—Five members must be present to constitute a committee ;—to constitute an ordinary meeting ;—to constitute an extraordinary.

5th—All other meetings, which may be deemed necessary, shall be convened by requisition, signed by five members of the club.

6th—The place of each ensuing meeting shall be determined at the previous ordinary meeting of the club.

IV.—OF THE ORDER OF BUSINESS, &c.

1st—The order of business in the committees shall be at the discretion of their respective chairmen.

2nd—The order of business in the ordinary meetings shall be—1st, the proceedings of last meeting ; 2nd, the reports of the committee and correspondence ; 3rd, ballot for the admission of members ; 4th, motions, of which notice must be handed in to the secretary three days previous ; 5th, finance report, with which the meeting shall conclude.

3rd—The order of business in the extraordinary meetings shall be—1st, the proceedings of the last extraordinary meeting ; 2nd, the reports of the ordinary meetings and correspondence ; 3rd, ballot for the election of officers ; 4th, motions, of which notice must be given at the last ordinary meeting ; 5th, finance report for the last half-year.

4th—No resolution or other documents shall be published, unless such publication be authorised by a general meeting of the club.

V.—OF CHANGING THE RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1st—These rules and regulations may be added to, amended, or suppressed, at the discretion of the members of the club.

2nd—This power can only be exercised at extraordinary meetings, on a motion of a member, of which notice shall be given at the previous ordinary meeting of the club.

Rules for the Formation of the Parish Clubs.

Sir,

I am directed by the County Liberal Club, pursuant to the resolution passed at their first public meeting, held August 2, to communicate with you on the practicability of establishing in your parish a Parochial Club, on the following principles:—

1. The club to be composed, as much as possible, of the principal gentry, clergy, churchwardens, and such of the respectable farmers as can read, and are able and willing to take a part in such proceedings in their parish—These to form the first members—others to be added afterwards by nomination or ballot.

2. The club, when so formed, to hold meetings (if possible) once a fortnight; but at all events once a month, in such place and time as they may judge expedient.

3. These clubs and meetings to have for object, keeping every man in constant readiness for future elections, maintaining the registries, inquiring into and giving in-

formation of any persecution of freeholders, &c., and promoting good order, perfect subordination to the laws, political knowledge, and liberal feeling, as much as possible in their parish.

4. A report of these particulars, addressed to the secretary, will be expected once in every three months by the county club, and perhaps oftener.

5. Every club to contribute three pence a week, and to be thereby entitled to a weekly paper, to be sent down every Saturday for their information. No other contribution to be required.

You will be so kind on the perusal of the above to state—

1. Your approbation or disapprobation of each article, and on what grounds, *seriatim*.

2. The difficulties existing (if any) to their execution.

3. Whether you be willing or unwilling to co-operate in their establishment.

I beg you to give me such answer as I may be able to lay before the club at their next quarterly meeting, and to

Believe me, dear Sir,

Very sincerely, your faithful Servant.

No. XXVI.

MR. O'CONNELL'S ADDRESS TO THE
ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY CLARE.

Dublin, June, 1828.

Fellow-Countrymen!

Your county wants a representative.—I respectfully solicit your suffrages, to raise me to that station.

Of my qualification to fill that station I leave you to judge. The habits of public speaking, and many, many years of public business, render me, perhaps, equally suited with most men to attend to the interest of Ireland in Parliament.

You will be told I am not qualified to be elected: the assertion, my friends, is untrue.—I am qualified to be elected, and to be your representative. It is true that, as a Catholic, I cannot, and of course never will, take the oaths at present prescribed to members of parliament; but the authority which created these oaths—the parliament—can abrogate them: and I entertain a confident hope that, if you elect me, the most bigotted of our enemies will see the necessity of removing from the chosen representative of the people an obstacle which would prevent him from doing his duty to his king and to his country.

The oath at present required by law is, “That the sacrifice of the mass, and the invocation of the blessed Virgin Mary, and other saints, as now practised in the

church of Rome, are impious and idolatrous." Of course I will never stain my soul with such an oath: I leave that to my honourable opponent, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. He has often taken that horrible oath; he is ready to take it again, and asks your votes, to enable him so to swear. I would rather be torn limb from limb than take it. Electors of the County Clare! choose between me, who abominates that oath, and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who has sworn it full twenty times! Return me to parliament, and it is probable that such blasphemous oath will be abolished for ever. As your representative, I will try the question with the friends in parliament of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. They may send me to prison.—I am ready to go there to promote the cause of the Catholics, and of universal liberty. The discussion which the attempt to exclude your representative from the House of Commons must excite, will create a sensation all over Europe, and produce such a burst of contemptuous indignation against British bigotry in every enlightened country in the world, that the voice of all the great and good in England, Scotland, and Ireland, being joined to the universal shout of the nations of the earth, will overpower every opposition, and render it impossible for Peel and Wellington any longer to close the doors of the constitution against the Catholics of Ireland.

Electors of the County Clare! Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald claims as his only merit, that he is a friend to the Catholics. Why, I am a Catholic myself; and if he be sincerely our friend, let him vote for me, and raise before

the British empire the Catholic question in my humble person, in the way most propitious to my final success. But no, fellow-countrymen—no ; he will make no sacrifice to that cause. He will call himself your friend, and act the part of your worst and most unrelenting enemy.

I do not like to give the epitome of his political life ; yet, when the present occasion so loudly calls for it, I cannot refrain. He first took office under Perceval—under that Perceval who obtained power by raising the base, bloody, and unchristian cry of “ No Popery ” in England.

He had the nomination of a member to serve for the borough of Ennis. He nominated Mr. Spencer Perceval, then a decided opponent of the Catholics.

He voted on the East Retford bill, for a measure that would put two violent enemies of the Catholics into Parliament.

In the case of the Protestant Dissenters in England, he voted for their exclusion ; that is, against the principle of the freedom of conscience—that sacred principle, which the Catholics of Ireland have ever cultivated and cherished, and on which we found our rights to emancipation.

Finally, he voted for the suppression of the Catholic Association of Ireland!!!

And after this—sacred Heaven ! he calls himself a friend to the Catholics !

He is the ally and colleague of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel ; he is their partner in power ; they are, you know, the most bitter, persevering, and unmi-

tigated enemies of the Catholics : and after all this, he, the partner of our bitterest and unrelenting enemies, calls himself the friend of the Catholics of Ireland !

Having thus traced a few of the demerits of my Right Honourable Opponent, what shall I say for myself ?

I appeal to my past life for my unremitting and disinterested attachment to the religion and liberties of Catholic Ireland.

If you return me to parliament, I pledge myself to vote for every measure favourable to radical reform in the representative system, so that the House of Commons may truly, as our Catholic ancestors intended it should do, represent all the people.

To vote for the repeal of the Vestry bill, the Subletting act, and the present grinding system of Grand Jury Laws.

To vote for the diminution and more equal distribution of the overgrown wealth of the Established church in Ireland, so that the surplus may be restored to the sustentation of the poor, the aged, and the infirm.

To vote for every measure of retrenchment and reduction of the national expenditure, so as to relieve the people from the burden of taxation, and to bring the question of the repeal of the Union, at the earliest possible period, before the consideration of the legislature.

Electors of the County Clare ! choose between me and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald ; choose between him who has so long cultivated his own interests, and one who seeks only to advance yours ; choose between the sworn libeller of the Catholic faith, and one who has devoted his early life to your cause ; who has consumed his

manhood in a struggle for your liberties, and who has ever lived, and is ready to die for, the integrity, the honour, the purity, of the Catholic faith, and the promotion of Irish freedom and happiness.

Your faithful Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

No. XXVII.

RECONCILIATION MEETINGS.

At a meeting of the Association, held at Dublin, August 1828, Mr. Sheil proposed the following resolutions:

First,—That while we warmly congratulate the people of Tipperary upon the happy cessation of their feuds, we implore them to discontinue the holding of assemblies of the peculiar character which have recently taken place.

Secondly,—That we humbly entreat the Catholic clergy to co-operate with the Association in carrying the above resolution into effect.

Thirdly,—That Daniel O'Connell, to whose influence the pacification of Tipperary should be referred, is hereby called upon to employ his powerful and deserved authority, in deterring the people of Tipperary from the holding of such meetings, in an address to be printed and circulated at the expense of the Association.

Fourthly,—That it be referred to the standing committee to report whether it be, or may become expe-

dient, that a deputation shall be sent to Tipperary, and suggest such other measures as shall be deemed advisable, in order to dissuade the people from holding such meetings.

Fifthly,—Moved by Mr. Sheil, seconded by Mr. Costelloe—That Mr. O’Gorman (the Secretary of the Association) be requested to forward the resolutions to Mr. O’Connell.

*Address of the Catholic Association to the
Catholics of Tipperary.*

Fellow-Countrymen !

The Catholic Association, which has been the means, under Providence, of calling the Catholic people into existence, as a nation—which has taught the humblest individual in the community to appreciate his rights, and the community itself to approach the legislature with a legal firmness, and a union of sentiment and purpose, without a parallel, for a restitution of those rights—the Catholic Association of Ireland, virtually representing the feelings, the opinions, and the interests of the Catholic people, think it due to themselves, and above all, a duty they owe to you, to address the brave, the intelligent, and the docile people of Tipperary, on an occasion which they deem of great public importance, not only to the inhabitants of Munster, but to the Catholic cause itself.

The Association thank the men of Tipperary for the wise and honourable alacrity with which they listened to the voice of their great leader—of that eminent and

extraordinary man, who, under God, is leading them out of the house of bondage into the blessings of equal freedom. They thank the Tipperary men for listening to the voice of Daniel O'Connell—and burying, as they have done, in utter oblivion, the feuds and follies of the generations which preceded them, and of their own. No incident in the modern history of Ireland can be regarded by a true Irishman with greater delight than that general and cordial peace which you have established in every quarter of your great county.

But, fellow-countrymen, since that peace has been fully ratified—since that admirable harmony has been made to extend through the South of Ireland—since you have done all that you have been required by Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association to do—that Association, which watches your interests with the deepest anxiety—which is bound in honour and in duty to watch for your safety, cannot regard, without apprehensions for the result, the continuance of those processions—the immense assemblies and the disciplined array; the almost military precision; and the marchings and counter-marchings through various parts of your county.—And what is your object? We know that you are loyal; we know that you are ready to meet the enemies of your king and country, when called upon by the voice of your Sovereign, as Irishmen always do, with bravery and devotion—we know that you harbour no wrong in your minds—we know you to be what you are, generous, ardent, and confiding; but we know too, that the wolf is on the walk; that you have enemies anxious for an opportunity of doing you evil, and in-

flicting injury upon your cause; that there are persons desirous to take advantage of these immense assemblies of men; that there are persons who, if they cannot provoke you to violate the peace themselves, are eager to alarm the government.

Fellow-countrymen! we believe that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is deeply solicitous for your welfare, and most anxious to promote the liberties of our country.—But we have reason, at the same time, to be assured, that many applications for the exercise of those powers with which he is invested have been made at the seat of government. The alarm caused by your assemblages, so often, in such numbers and with such array, has been represented, we believe, to his Excellency, with designs inimical to your safety. We, ourselves, fellow-countrymen, feel it difficult to answer for the continuance of tranquillity. We know, indeed, that the peace will not be violated by you; but at the same time do not doubt that a system of annoyance and of exasperation may be practised against you, with such wicked artifice that you will not be able to restrain your own feelings, or to avoid the natural, but under the circumstances of the country, what would prove to be a fatal reaction.

How, then, are you to avoid such a calamity as this would prove to yourselves, to us, and to the nation? There is one way, and a simple one, fellow-countrymen, discontinue your meetings.

You have already obtained your great object—you have made peace amongst yourselves—preserve that peace. You may return the men of your own selection for the county. Cherish that right which you have

earned by your unanimity. These are the great ends for which Mr. O'Connell addressed you; these are the great ends which you promised him you would accomplish. You have achieved this victory.

Nothing now remains for you to do, but to listen to the voice of your Association and to obey the recommendation.

The Association advises you, then, to give up your meeting; they implore of you to attend to this their most solemn recommendation. *Your safety and the cause of the country depend in a great measure on your compliance.*

And finally, fellow-countrymen, attend to those pious and exemplary men, whose whole lives are devoted to your temporal and spiritual welfare—the pastors of your holy and persecuted, but eternal church.

Mr. O'Connell himself will address you. In the mean time, until his powerful voice is heard in Tipperary, we have felt it our bounden duty to warn you of the danger which surrounds you.

JOHN MULLINS, P. P., Kilkenny, Chairman.

NICHOLAS P. O'GORMAN, Secretary to the Catholics of Ireland.*

* Fearing that the same spirit might extend itself to the North, a very able and powerful address (drawn up by a Mr. Brady, a most distinguished young Catholic barrister) embodying similar feelings, and inculcating the necessity of peace and tranquillity, was submitted to the Association, approved of, and widely circulated in the North, antecedent to Mr. Lawless's mission.

*Address of Daniel O'Connell to the People of the
County of Tipperary.*

Derrinane Abbey, 30th Sept. 1828.

Beloved Brothers!

It was late last night when I received the command of the Catholic Association of Ireland to address you. My first business this morning is thus to obey that command.

I address you, in the first place, with the most heartfelt affection and gratitude. I have laboured already twenty-eight years in the great "Catholic cause," and I have at length been rewarded for it. By whom have I been so rewarded?

PEOPLE OF THE COUNTY OF TIPPERARY, BY YOU.

Yes—you have rewarded me. I will tell you how: You obeyed my advice as if it were a command. I advised you to give up factious fights and quarrels—you have given them up. I advised you to abstain from party feuds and riots—you have abstained from them. I advised you to forgive one another, and to be reconciled to each other—you have, at my advice, forgiven each other, and have become friends and brothers. My friends, my brothers, I thank you. I advised you to cease from injuring your fellow-creatures, and, above all, to shudder lest you should continue to offend the great and good God. Oh! may that merciful God, who certainly will one day judge us all for eternal bliss or everlasting misery—may that merciful and good God

pour down his choicest blessings on the honest and worthy people of the county of Tipperary!

You have obeyed my advice—you have made peace amongst yourselves—you have prevented the recurrence of whiteboy crimes or nocturnal outrages. How sincerely do I thank you! Persevere in that course, my dear friends—my beloved brothers. We will then be able, as we promised at the Clonmel meeting, to open the gaol door, and fling the key into the Suir.

But, my beloved brothers and friends, I have now again to advise you. In making peace, you have held large meetings. My opinion is, that you were right at first in holding such meetings, because you held them, as I advised, in perfect obedience to the law, and without the least violence or outrage to any body. You were so kind as to call yourselves my police. Surely no police ever behaved themselves half so well, or kept the peace with half so much kindness and good-humour.

But the time is come to discontinue those public meetings. For the present year, let us have no more of them.

Halt, therefore, my beloved friends—halt, my dear brothers. I give you the word of command. Halt, and, for the present, let those public and general meetings be discontinued.

In the mean time, depend upon it that the Catholic Association will not slumber over your wrongs. I myself shall not be idle. We will make our arrangements peaceably and constitutionally, but perseveringly and vigorously, to assert your rights, and to obtain for the

Catholics of Ireland that justice which is due to us, and which is all we want.

Will you not listen to my voice? Will you not follow the advice I give you? I venture to promise that you will listen to the advice that comes from a friend—from a brother, who has no other object under heaven but to obtain justice for the professors of the Catholic faith, and liberty and happiness for the people of Ireland.

You know that I am your friend—you know that my life has been devoted to your service—you know that I have been the active enemy of Orange injustice and Orange oppression. I have opposed the Orangemen, laughed at them, and, with the aid of the Catholic Association, protected many of the Catholics of the North against them, and brought the guilty to shame, and some of them to punishment.

I am your friend. I am the enemy of oppression, bigotry, and tyranny. As your friend, I advise you—I entreat you—allow me to add, I order you, to discontinue large and general meetings for the present year, and not to expose yourselves to the machinations of your enemies, or the treachery of pretended friends.

In the mean time, and before the next summer comes, I trust that the accursed flag of Orange oppression will be laid in the dust for ever. I trust that Irishmen of every class and of every sect and persuasion, will become friends and brothers, and that our lovely native land, green Erin, of the rivers and streams, will be the abode of peace and happiness and liberty.

Yes, my friends, I can venture to promise, that if you obey the advice of the Catholic Association—if you

follow the counsels that I give you—liberty will be near at hand, and that within the space of one or two years at the utmost, we shall see all we want, all we desire—we shall see throughout Ireland—

“ Happy homes and altars free.”

Commit no crime. Be not guilty of any outrage. Discontinue large meetings. Hold no secret meetings whatsoever. Have no secret societies of any kind. Secrecy in political matters is in itself bad, and is the fruitful source of every crime. I have no secret whatsoever. The Catholic Association has no secrets. The Orangemen and the Whiteboys have secrets, and accordingly blood and murder and every species of iniquity are produced by them.

Our instructions to you are public—we publicly call on you to discontinue for the present those large and public meetings. Let parties be reconciled in their own respective parishes, but let not one single man go into any other parish for that purpose. If any man after this warning go into any other parish, or make any part of a public procession or meeting out of his own parish, believe me he is not a friend. He is an enemy. Do not trust him as a brother, but deal with him as with a hired spy. Treat him with contempt and scorn.

Discontinue, therefore, immediately, those large meetings. Discontinue them cheerfully, readily, and at once.

Listen as men of sense to the reasons why these meetings should be discontinued.

First,—Your most valuable and excellent clergy—the

poor man's best friends, all join in advising you to discontinue them. Did they ever give you bad advice? Never. Did you ever regret that you followed the advice they gave you? Never. When have you disregarded their advice without being sorry for it afterwards? Never. Follow then the advice of your pious and exemplary clergy, and discontinue those meetings.

Secondly,—The Catholic Association of Ireland advises and orders you to discontinue those meetings. That body constitutes the most honest and patriotic assembly that ever yet met to advance the cause of civil and religious liberty. That honest, patriotic, and pure body, the Catholic Association of Ireland, advise and command you to discontinue those meetings. Obey their advice as if it were a command.

Thirdly,—I, your faithful friend, advise you immediately to discontinue those meetings. I have laboured for you for twenty-eight long years, and am going to parliament that I may be able to do you some effectual good. I ought to know what is useful to you, and I do most solemnly assure you that nothing could be more injurious to you than having any more of those large meetings for the present. You took my advice before—the Catholic people in many parts of Ireland take my advice—discontinue those large meetings.

Fourthly,—It is the wish of the honest and patriotic part of the present government that you should discontinue those meetings. The Lord Lieutenant, the Marquess of Anglesey, is a sincere friend of the peace and prosperity of Ireland; he is, what you all like and love—as brave a soldier as ever wielded a sword; he is most

desirous to produce peace, tranquillity, and happiness in Ireland. He is anxious to put down oppression of every kind and crime of every description. The Orangemen hate and fear him—the people love and respect him—it is necessary, in order to gratify what must be his wishes, that those large meetings should be discontinued. Discontinue them, therefore, that the noble and brave Marquess of Anglesey may be able to serve our country, to put down faction and party of every description, and to do his duty to the King and the people, by seeing Ireland tranquil, free, and happy.

Fifthly,—Let me, as a fifth reason, tell you that we have also in the government a most impartial and upright chancellor. Under his control are the magistracy of the country. The Catholics, during the chancellorship of Lord Manners, suffered much from delinquent magistrates. Let us be grateful to Sir Anthony Hart, and show that gratitude, by our ready obedience to the law. Let us, therefore, discontinue those public processions and large meetings, which must be displeasing to him, and injurious to the great cause in which the people are engaged.

Sixthly,—Let me also tell you that we have in the government another manly, independent, high-minded, and honest friend to the people of Ireland. I mean Lord Francis Leveson Gower. Depend upon it you could not displease him more, nor more disturb the course of his honest exertions, than by continuing those large meetings. Instead of being your friend, you will necessarily make him your enemy, if you reject so much good advice as is thus given you, and if you continue

those meetings after you are thus emphatically and earnestly called on to desist.

Seventhly,—In proportion as the Catholics and the friends of the Catholics are anxious to put an end to those meetings, in the same proportion are the Orangemen desirous that they should be continued. The Orangemen wish that you should disobey the Catholic Association. The Orangemen wish to commit you with the government, and against the law. We desire that you should cultivate the esteem of a friendly government, and strictly obey the law. I need not ask which you will obey, the Catholic Association, or gratify the Orangemen. I am ready to pledge my life for it, that you will obey us, that you will confide in our affection for you, and, as we ask it, you will at once discontinue those meetings.

Eighthly,—The Orangemen have assumed a new denomination. Some of them call themselves Brunswick clubs, but they are better and more appropriately known by the appellation of “Blood-hound clubs,” because they seek to continue an unjust and odious monopoly, by shedding the blood of the people. These wicked and sanguinary men have subscribed large sums of money for purposes which they, depraved though they be, are ashamed to avow—but which must be, amongst other bad intents, to hire spies and informers, and other wretches, who would mingle amongst the people, instigate them to acts of violence, fabricate false plots and conspiracies, and betray the people in every way to their enemies. These “blood-hounds” wish that you should continue those large meetings, in order that by means

of their own spies and informers they may find some opportunity to shed your blood. If any man tells you to disobey the advice of the Catholic Association, believe me that such men must be in the pay of "the blood-hounds." I implore of you to treat him as such.

Ninthly and lastly,—If you disobey the advice of the Catholic Association, and if you refuse to listen to my entreaty, we must at once desert you—we must abandon you. It would be with the greatest reluctance that we should desert or abandon the people of Tipperary. But we ask yourselves, what else can we do? If you refuse to listen to the honest advice which we give you for your own good and for the benefit of the Catholic cause, why it will in that case be our duty not only to abandon you, but actually to resist the course which you are taking.

But, my friends, my brothers, honest and worthy people of the county of Tipperary, I am quite certain that you will obey us. I firmly believe that one word would have been sufficient to procure that obedience. You know there is no use in being resolute and brave, unless you have the virtue of perfect subordination. Without subordination it would be impossible to preserve the peace amongst yourselves, or to prevent the recurrence of crimes and outrages which would stain you with guilt, bring down deserved punishment on you, and give a triumph to your bitter and unrelenting enemies, "the blood-hounds" of Ireland.

Allow us of the Catholic Association to conduct the great Catholic cause to final success: we approach to that success daily; and I tell you we are certain of suc-

cess, unless the people themselves, by some misconduct, prevent us. Is there a single honest man amongst you that would not bitterly regret his disobedience, if it were—as it certainly would be—the means of preventing the success of the Catholic cause, which involves in itself the very principle of freedom of conscience all over the world?

Rely on the Catholic Association; we will not sleep on our posts:—we desire to obtain liberty for the Irish people; but we desire to do it by raising the moral and religious character of that people. Liberty, glorious liberty, is within our reach, if we will only deserve it. Let me strongly advise you to be regular and constant in your various duties; consider no man as worthy of being called “a friend and brother,” but a man who is observant of the rules and practices of his religion—who is honest, conscientious, and moral in his conduct—who is, according to his relations of life, a good son to his parents, a good brother to his sisters, a loving and kind husband to his wife, and a tender and careful father to his children. We disclaim the assistance of the idle, the profligate, the vicious. Religious and moral men are those alone who can regenerate Ireland, and I am sure there are amongst you *many, many, very many* such friends to liberty and Old Ireland.

The greatest enemy we can have is the man who commits any crime against his fellow-man, or any offence in the sight of his God. The greatest enemy of the liberty of Ireland is the man who violates the law in any respect, or breaks the peace, or commits any outrage whatsoever.

My friends, my beloved brothers, cultivate your moral and religious duties. Avoid every kind of crime ; avoid, as you would a pestilence, all secret societies, all illegal oaths ; seize upon any man who proposes to you to become a member of any secret society, or proposes to you any oath or engagement of a party or political nature. I denounce every such man to you as a " blood-hound " in disguise. Treat him as such, and drag him before a magistrate for prosecution and punishment.

Rely on it also that I will not lose sight of the great work of the pacification of the county of Tipperary. I am proud of having begun that great and glorious work. We, my friends and brothers, will not leave that work unfinished. You will, I am sure, desist from those large and unnecessary meetings ; and I promise you to mature a more useful plan. That plan, when matured, I will submit to the Catholic Association of Ireland ; and if it meets the approbation of that learned, intelligent, and most patriotic body, I am sure you will adopt it, and that it will spread all over the land.

The outline of that plan will be to divide the people for all political, moral, and religious purposes, into numbers not exceeding one hundred and twenty. That these one hundred and twenty should elect amongst themselves a person to take charge of the whole under the name of a " pacificator." No man to be a " pacificator " but a man regular in his religious duties, and at least a monthly communicant. The " pacificator " to have power to nominate two persons, to be called " regulators," under him, and the three to be responsible that no crime or outrage or violation of the law should

be committed by any of the one hundred and twenty. On the contrary, that they should assist in the preservation of the peace, in the prevention of all crimes—in the suppression of all illegal societies—in the collection of the Catholic Rent, and in all other useful, legal, and honest purposes.

It would be part of my plan, that the name and residence of each “pacificator” should be transmitted to every neighbouring magistrate and police station, and advertised in the newspapers, and enrolled in the books of the Catholic Association.

I mention this faint outline of my plan, merely to show you that if the Orangemen and Brunswick bloodhounds proceed in their sanguinary career, we shall easily find legal and constitutional means to counteract them, and to protect the people against them, and to set them at defiance.

Observe, however, that this plan is not yet adopted by the Catholic Association—until it is, it will not be carried into effect any where. As soon as I reach Dublin, I will return thither speedily—I will bring forward my plan of “General Pacification.”

Obey the laws; follow the advice of the Catholic Association; listen to the counsels I give you; discontinue, I know you will discontinue, those large meetings; avoid secret societies and illegal oaths; contribute, according to your means, to that sacred and national fund, the Catholic Rent; cultivate your moral duties; attend seriously and solemnly to your holy and divine religion.

You will thus exalt yourselves as men and as Chris-

tians. Bigotry and oppression will wither from amongst us. A parental government, now held out to us, will compensate for centuries of misrule. We will plant in our native land the constitutional tree of liberty. That noble tree will prosper and flourish in our green and fertile country. It will extend its protecting branches all over this lovely island. Beneath its sweet and sacred shade, the universal people of Ireland, Catholics, and Protestants, and Presbyterians, and Dissenters of every class, will sit in peace, and union, and tranquillity. Commerce and trade will flourish; industry will be rewarded; and the people, contented and happy, will see Old Ireland—what she ought to be,

Great, glorious, and free,

First flower of the earth, first gem of the sea.

Believe me, beloved friends, to be your devoted Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL,

Of the Order of Liberators.

*A Proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant-General
and Governor of Ireland.*

ANGLESEY.

Whereas, in certain counties in this part of the United Kingdom, meetings of large numbers of his Majesty's subjects have been lately held, consisting of persons both on foot and on horseback, coming together from various and distant parts and places, acting in concert and under the command of leaders, and assuming the appearance of military array and discipline, or

exhibiting other marks and symbols of illegal concert and union, to the great danger of the public peace, and to the well-founded terror and dread of his Majesty's peaceable and well-disposed subjects ;

And whereas we have received information that, in other parts, certain persons have been passing through the country, provoking and exciting the assemblage of large bodies of people, for no purpose known to the law, to the great terror of his Majesty's subjects, and the endangering of the public peace and safety ;

And whereas the meeting and assembling together in such numbers, and in such manner as aforesaid, and thereby occasioning such dread and terror, and endangering the public peace, is a manifest offence and an open breach of the law, and such unlawful assemblies ought therefore to be suppressed and put down ;

And whereas many well-affected but unwary persons may be seduced by divers specious pretences given out for the holding of such assemblies, and in ignorance of the law, to frequent the same ;

We, therefore, the Lord Lieutenant-general and General-governor of Ireland, being resolved to suppress and put down such illegal meetings, and to prevent the recurrence thereof, have thought fit to issue this proclamation, solemnly and strictly warning all his Majesty's liege subjects from henceforth to discontinue the holding or attending any such meetings or assemblies as aforesaid ; and do charge and earnestly exhort them, to the utmost of their power, to discountenance all meetings and assemblies of a similar nature, and thereby to prevent the dangers and mischief consequent on the same ;

and being determined and resolved strictly to enforce the law, and the penalties thereof, against persons offending in the premises, do charge and command all sheriffs, mayors, justices of the peace, and all other magistrates, officers, and others whom it may concern, to be aiding and assisting in the execution of the law, in preventing such meetings and assemblies from being held, and in the effectual dispersion and suppression of the same, and in the detection and protection of those who, after this notice, shall offend in respects aforesaid.

Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, this 30th day of September, 1828.

By his Majesty's command,

F. L. GOWER.

No. XXVIII.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS, &c.

At a Meeting held at Harmony Hall, New York, July 6, 1826, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

That the persons assembled at this meeting form themselves into a society, for the three following purposes:—1st, The establishment of a rent, in order to co-operate the more effectually with those illustrious individuals in Ireland, who are desirous to accomplish the emancipation of their country.—2nd, To give efficient expression to our sympathy for the oppressed, and our in-

dignation at the conduct of the oppressors.—3rd, To address the free and enlightened nations of the earth on the subject of Ireland's wrongs and England's intolerance—to proclaim to them that the enemy of religious toleration must be inimical to the universal law of nations.

ROBERT SWANTON, Chairman,

At a meeting of the friends of Ireland, convened agreeably to public notice, held on Friday evening the 1st of August, 1828, at the Masonic Hall, Broadway,

Dr. Macnevin was called to the chair, and

James Shea was appointed secretary;

The chairman explained the object of calling the meeting, with a eulogium on the patriotism and public spirit displayed by the Irish forty-shilling freeholders at the late general election in Ireland—whereupon it was unanimously

Resolved, That in the boldness of the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland, so independently exemplified at the late election of representatives to parliament, we discover with high satisfaction a new evidence that Ireland is not deficient in the materials for forming a great people: the men who have conquered their dictating landlords—have subdued the most powerful of their enemies;—they who have dared under the apprehension of a persecution scarcely endurable to oppose their would-be-masters, have undoubtedly the courage to resist tyranny whencesoever it may come. The stern honesty of the forty-shilling freeholder gives assurance, on which we may rely, that at no very distant day his virtue will be rewarded by the regeneration of his country.

Resolved, That an Association be immediately formed, to be styled "The Association of the Friends of Ireland, in the city of New York."

Resolved, That a committee of shall be appointed to draft such rules as may be necessary for the regulation of the Association now formed, and report the same to a general meeting, to be called by said committee, as soon as convenient.

The blank was then filled with the following names; viz. Dr. Macnevin, Judge Swanton, Counsellor O'Connor, John Doyle, and James Shea.

Resolved, That the chairman be requested to write an opening address for the Association.

Resolved, That a list be taken of the names of individuals now present, wishing to become members of the Association—whereupon about one hundred names were recorded.

JAMES SHEA, Secretary.

Boston, 1828.

At the semi-annual public meeting of the Hibernian Relief Society, held at Boylston Hall, on Monday evening, 6th inst., the following resolutions, offered by the Rev. Mr. Byrne, were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That a special meeting of the society be on Monday evening, the 20th inst.

Resolved, That a remittance be made to the Catholic Association in Dublin, by the packet of the 1st of November, or sooner, if convenient, after the special meeting.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed

to examine the treasurer's accounts, and report at the special meeting the amount of the society's funds, after deducting what may be due for expenses.

Resolved, That the names of all the members who shall have paid all their assessments, be transmitted with the remittance.

Resolved, That donations be received, as well from members as from others who wish to aid the people of Ireland in their struggles for civil and religious liberty.

Resolved, That the said donation be acknowledged, by having the name of each donor, and the amount given by him, published in one or more of the Boston newspapers.

Resolved, That a separate list of the names of donors be transmitted to Ireland, and the amount given by each annexed to his name.

Resolved, That the trustees be requested to exert themselves in procuring donations, and also in calling upon members who may be in arrears to pay in their assessments.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to draw up an address or letter to accompany our remittance, and congratulating Daniel O'Connell upon his election to Parliament, and that such letter or address be read at the special meeting.

Resolved, That the said special meeting shall be a public one, and that all donations there received shall be recorded and announced from the chair.

Committees were then appointed agreeably to the above resolutions.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

An Association of persons of all nations, and without distinction of creed or party, has been formed for the sole purpose of aiding the people of Ireland in the recovery of their civil and religious liberties. They have taken upon themselves the title of "The Association of the Friends of Ireland in New York." They deem it of importance to address you as freemen, as Christians, and as the promoters of liberal principles, in behalf of that people who may justly claim your notice, your sympathy, and your assistance. Their subject is the enslavement of a people possessing, in common with yourselves, consciousness of right, sensibility to injustice, and a deep conviction of the cruelty of that oppression which would devise and enforce laws to bind the conscience in matters of religious belief, which would deprive man of his political privileges, for asserting his mental independence.

Americans! people of the United States! we call upon you by all those endearing ties which bind man to his brother: by those obligations which are esteemed the most sacred among the most enlightened nations: in the name of that divine charity which directs the sensibilities of the heart beyond the limits of home: we call upon you in the spirit of true Christianity, which extends its benevolence to all men: by that enlarged sense of gratitude which delights to acknowledge sacrifices and benefits: we call upon you to extend your pecuniary aid to the cause of civil and religious liberty in Ireland. Her people ask your aid—not as a favour,

but as a right. They are your brothers, and cannot justly be denied: they have claims upon your gratitude: they are entitled to your assistance: they are oppressed by harsh and illiberal laws, and they appeal to you as to a people who, by the peculiar felicity of your fortunes; are constituted the arbiters between the oppressor and the oppressed—are placed conspicuous among nations, as the preservers and dispensers of free principles: *Their* fathers have fought and bled side by side with *your* fathers—have died with *them* to obtain for you that liberty which you now enjoy. May the debt which you owed to the fathers, be now paid to the children!

The services of Irishmen have been pre-eminent wherever the standard of freedom hath been unfurled to the breeze. Alas! their exertions have only been unsuccessful in emancipating their own land! On the plains of revolutionary France; on the wild pampas of Peru; amid the dark defiles of the snow-clad Andes; upon the island shores of classic Greece, they have proved their devotion to the rights of man—they have sealed with their blood their covenant with freedom. Thus, far from their own green isle, they have died for strangers;—and their bones now whiten in the sun on fields where the glory of dying in the cause of universal emancipation, was their incentive to exertion; where the hope that their sacrifices would be remembered by the world in favour of their native land, when *her* call for assistance should go forth, was at once their reward and their consolation.

But especially have Irishmen aided in obtaining and preserving the liberties of that country whose cordial

reception and generous protection have almost repaid them for the loss of their own. In that memorable revolution which conferred upon these United States independence and glory, power and prosperity—for their bravery, their fortitude, and their incorruptible constancy, Irishmen were not surpassed even by native Americans. The venerable Ramsay has published to the world in his elegant history of that revolution, that *then* “Irishmen were famous, but the sons of Irishmen were conspicuous.”

We deem it unnecessary to enumerate those brave and gifted men whom Ireland sent to the aid of your fathers during that momentous struggle against tyranny, or to dwell upon their exploits. We address you as an intelligent people. We appeal with confidence to your knowledge of the brightest pages which history presents; of those which describe the battles, the sufferings and the sacrifices of your brave fathers and their equally brave compatriots, during that glorious war. Come forward, then, and declare your knowledge of that history, and the estimation in which you hold those services, by assisting the children of those Irishmen to break the degrading chains which oppress their consciences and confine their minds. Contribute to the sacred fund of this Association; enable the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland to avail themselves of that important franchise secured by the act of Union. The time is auspicious; the only danger will arise from delays. Greece had claims upon your sympathy—Ireland hath demands upon your justice. Assist her peasantry to maintain their rightful advantage against the local aristocrats, and the slave-drivers of the absentees; and

an event, unparalleled in the annals of the world, shall occur—a revolution conferring the blessings of toleration, and all the immunities that gave value to existence, upon seven millions of people, without the shedding of blood, and without the dismemberment of an empire!

Ireland is, at length, united for this great purpose. Her unity is what her oppressors have ever dreaded—it is irresistible. It frustrates the secret operations of their *dividing system*. Come forward, people of free America! and by aiding with your accustomed liberality a cause in which all good men, without distinction of sect, country, or party, must agree, share in the eternal glory of giving civil and religious freedom—not to any set or party, but to your fellow-men—to immortal beings like yourselves—to *the people of Ireland*.

Published by order of the Association of “The Friends of Ireland in New York.”

WM. J. MACNEVIN, President.

ADDRESS TO THE FRENCH.

(Translated from the *Courier des Etats Unis*.)

The friends of Ireland, desirous of aiding by their countenance and contributions the efforts now making in Ireland for the attainment of civil and religious liberty, still denied to its Catholic inhabitants, respectfully acquaint their French fellow-citizens that an association of persons of liberal principles, of all nations, has been formed with that sole object.

The people of France, for ages past, have been the generous friends and benefactors of the Irish, whom re-

ligious persecution tore from their native homes. In France they found a country: its hospitality was ever open to them; and though no nation possesses more talent, valour, and great qualities of its own, the Irish were always admitted without jealousy or reluctance to civil and military employments, and to all sorts of preferment under the government of France. With these facts in our memory, and engraven on our hearts, we cannot, without inconsistency and an appearance of ingratitude, to which we are strangers, pass over in silence our French brethren on this interesting occasion. The French enjoy liberty, and love it; they hate oppression, and can appreciate the political exertions of Ireland, and sympathise with her wrongs. We flatter ourselves too that Frenchmen entertain gratifying recollections of the return made by Irishmen, at all times, for the asylum they received; proving themselves gallant in war, faithful in peace, deserving the entire confidence with which they were always honoured by their generous and kind friends. It is for this we address them.—To become a member of the Association it is only requisite to sign the constitution, pay one dollar initiation, and twelve and a half cents per month. Its meetings are held at Tammany Hall, one every Wednesday evening.

WM. J. MACNEVIN, President.

New York.

THE ADDRESS OF THE LADIES OF MARYLAND TO
THE FEMALES OF THE UNITED STATES.*

At a momentous period, when all the civilised world turns with interest and astonishment to view the strug-

* This address was drawn up by a patriotic lady of Maryland.

gle of seven millions of people for their legal rights—at a moment when so many hands are raised in supplication, and so many hearts breathe their prayers, to obtain from the Lord of Hosts an emancipation from a bondage the most galling, shall we remain unconcerned spectators, while a generous feeling pervades the minds of all patriots?—No, beloved sisters, it shall never be said, that humanity and Christian benevolence have pervaded our bosoms!—it shall never be said, that women, in whose hearts “tender compassion ever loves to dwell,” shall remain deaf to the voice of misfortune, in its most distressing forms! Shall we, dwelling in this region of happiness and peace, forget our fellow-creatures in a foreign land, bound to some of us all by the common laws of nature; the children of the same Almighty Father, whom we are all enjoined to assist, by the holy precept of the same Divine Redeemer, “to love our neighbour as ourselves?”—To you, daughters of Columbia, I need not expatiate on political motives; to you, it is sufficient to recall to your memory, that some of our most eminent patriots, that some of our bravest defenders during the glorious struggle for our independence, were natives of Ireland—that Ireland, the land of the brave, the land of oppressed humanity, the land of hospitality, and of all the virtues religion inspires!—that land whose suffering inhabitants I solicit you to assist, by all the just claims they have on your most grateful feelings, for their blood freely shed in the hour of peril, and the enthusiastic devotedness they have ever evinced for the country of their adoption. Dear to them are the gifts received from the hands of

freemen of all nations and of all creeds; but dearer and sweeter shall be the offerings of female tenderness on the altar of freedom.

Daughters of all the nations of the earth, residing in these happy states, on you we call! on you who, blessed with the advantages of health and education, can so well contribute by the sacrifice of some useless purchase. To you, whose daily labour supplies your daily wants, we call to spare one mite, which, like "the widow's mite," will be more appreciated "than all that was before cast into the treasury." Blessed with the approbation of your conscience, delightful will be the recollection, that for a trifling sacrifice of your pleasures, or your conveniences, you will have contributed to the happiness of thousands. You will have been the instruments in the hands of Divine Providence to aid in effecting the emancipation of a nation, of whom may we soon exclaim, in the energetic language of Curran, "that she stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the genius of universal emancipation."

Daughters of Erin, on you more particularly do we call, to perform the sacred duty of tendering your heart-felt gifts to the beloved land of your nativity;—that dear native soil, to which memory turns with delight, the scene of all your early joys and purest pleasures! Cold indeed and insensible must be the heart that can forget it, and unworthy of her country must she be who heeds not her call in the crisis of her destiny! Yet, what do we say? Shall your hearts alone vibrate to the hallowed appeal? No; those ties bind other hearts, as tenderly, as truly as your own! Never shall the widow

cease to remember that the loved and lamented partner of her youth was a native of the Emerald Isle. Shall then the descendant of an Irish family forget the affinity which connects her with the sages, the orators, the poets, the noble peasantry, whose patriotism and long-suffering reflect honour on their kindred and their names? with the modest daughters of that "sweetest gem of the ocean," whose charms and exemplary virtues adorn the lowly cottage as well as the splendid hall? No, sisters; united in one common cause, we shall make no distinction of country or religion; no prejudices or political opinions shall sway us; one heart-felt impulse shall alone animate us—the duties of humanity and the delights of benevolence. Behold where New York exhibits to our view the names of many females inscribed on the proud records of those freemen, who unite their efforts in the cause of civil and religious liberty! Shall we (some of whom have subscribed for the glorious cause of Greece) refuse or neglect our brethren, whose integrity of conscience has alone reduced them to a state of misery and degradation for so many centuries? Shall we be excelled by a sex whom nature has not endowed with that tender sensibility which characterises our own? No; let the tribute of compassion and sympathy be paid in each city, in each village, of this happy country; the most trifling offering will be accepted.—Should our circumstances fortunately enable us to give bountifully, for "the Lord loveth the cheerful giver," let us hasten to present it. Are our means straitened, let us bestow the mite our poverty allows us, and be the amount applied as the donor shall direct for the benefit of Ireland.

Daughters of every clime, Christians of every sect, we conjure you, arise! in the name of Heaven, religion, and humanity, arise! with all the tender sympathies of your nature, and pour into the treasury of benevolence those offerings most acceptable to the Lord of Hosts, the free gifts of hearts warm with generous feelings, who evince their veneration for their Creator by "loving their neighbours as themselves." We ask not to be enrolled on the records that shall proclaim to a grateful people the names of their friends and benefactors: be our offerings only accepted—the approbation of our own hearts, the benedictions of our fellow-beings, in the "sweetest isle of the ocean," and the glad tidings of her glorious emancipation shall be our most valued reward.

O! may Heaven prosperously grant, that the same feelings which animate our hearts, may inspire you to unite in the performance of this sacred duty!—May the pious and grateful prayers of the orphans and widows you will assist, of the millions whose cause you will advocate, ascend to the throne of the Most High, and may his blessings descend on you as you fulfil his divine injunctions!!!

These addresses were followed by the formation of associations, at Charleston, Sept. 16th; Savannah, Sept. 17th, 1828; at Washington, Sept. 27th; at Brooklyn, Oct. 7th; at Quebec, Augusta, Kingston in Upper Canada, Norfolk in Virginia, Louisville in Kentucky, Maryland, and at Bardstown in Kentucky, in the month of November. These Associations were rapidly extending, and all actuated by the same views

—the collection of pecuniary aid, and rousing the sympathy of every friend of freedom in the cause of Ireland. The lively interest which they appear to have taken in the affairs of this country, has been more than once evinced by the admirable advice and co-operation tendered in their spirited addresses (such for example as those from New York, Charleston, and the city of Augusta) to the Catholic people of Ireland. The discussions upon the first presentation of these documents at the Catholic Association were, it may be recollected, violent and protracted; and from the cautious policy which the Catholics were compelled to pursue, necessarily opposed to a public testimony of their gratitude as a formal act of their body. Subsequently there was less difficulty; and in the case of the address of the city of Augusta, a vote of thanks was, through the indefatigable and patriotic exertions of Mr. Stephen Copping, passed, and transmitted through their chairman, Mr. Wyse, to Major-general Montgomerie, who presided at the meeting at Augusta, and to the Right Reverend Dr. England.*

* The following is a copy of the resolution:

“That as the sympathy of the generous and the free must ever be a source of consolation and of hope to the victims of persecution in every country and in every clime, we should consider ourselves unworthy of that sympathy from any portion of the civilised world, did we not hail, with the liveliest sentiments of affection and gratitude, the kind and noble indications of this feeling, evinced in our behalf in the able, powerful, and luminous address to the Catholic Association of Ireland, adopted by the distinguished friends of civil and religious liberty, who assembled in the city of Augusta, in the State of Georgia, on the 2nd of April, 1827; and that we hereby present to them the warmest tribute of our heartfelt thanks, as well for this address, as for the enlightened sentiments which pervaded the meeting at which it was adopted. And while we are convinced that in

NEW YORK.

The Association of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, and of the Friends of Ireland in New York,

TO DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ. M. P.

Sir,

By us patriotism is marked amongst the most exalted of human virtues ; and every practical example it affords of usefulness or well-merited zeal, attracts our undivided attention and admiration. With approving sympathy we have long witnessed your strenuous efforts in the service of a wronged country. The lofty ardour, the untiring perseverance, the discretion and magnanimity, which have characterised your labours, encourage the hope that your exertions will yet be rewarded with success.

Impartial observers of the tyranny which has so long enchained unhappy Ireland, we can scarcely give adequate expression to the indignation with which it has inspired us: we have beheld that tyranny supporting itself by cruel discord and extortion ; by extinguishing rights and paralysing industry ; by annihilating commerce, and reducing its victims to imbecility ; then despoiling her legislative assemblies, and tauntingly forcing on her the livery of a province. A crisis, however, approaches ; the hour of Ireland's redemption

thus giving expression to the emotions by which the members of this Association are actuated, we but touch a chord that vibrates in unison with the grateful feelings of eight millions of Irish Catholics. We cannot but contemplate the increased and increasing interest which our situation and sufferings are already exciting on the other side of the Atlantic, as a sure, and perhaps not distant, forerunner of brighter and happier days for Ireland."

is at hand; the eyes of enlightened nations are fixed upon you and your companions; recede not a single step; cement your strength and your purposes; and though still religiously preserving the most inviolable tranquillity, let not your vigilance relax until the minions of corruption abandon their machinations in despair. Yes, Sir, we approve of your exertions, and admire your talents; but the principles you have promulgated in your speeches and writings, are eminently more worthy of our praise. You have, Sir, proclaimed, that your efforts, and those of the Catholic Association, are not designed exclusively for a sect, but extend to all denominations of men. Yours is not a theological controversy, as your enemies would represent it; you have indignantly denied the calumny; you labour for Dissenters as well as Catholics; and we were rejoiced to perceive, that the proudest and most successful of your labours was a convincing illustration of this principle; for the course pursued by the Catholic electors of Clare was intended to manifest their disapprobation of Mr. Fitzgerald's illiberality towards their dissenting countrymen. Again, we say, proceed; while your conduct is marked by such principles, every enlightened friend of his species must ardently wish you success. Circumstances auspicious to your cause are multiplying in every portion of the globe—happy combinations of events are daily arising to aid your hopes. Look far to the east, and to the west, and immediately around you, and feel confident of success. Let the hopes of your nation revive.

Amidst the gloom that has so long lowered over

Ireland, perhaps it may be no inconsiderable consolation to you and your countrymen to know, that millions of honest and intrepid freemen in this republic regard your condition and your struggles with the highest degree of interest. Public opinion in America is deep, and strong, and universal, in your behalf. This predilection prevails over the broad bosom of our extensive continent. Associations similar to ours are every where starting into existence—in our largest and wealthiest cities—in our hamlets and our villages—in our most remote sections; and at this moment, the propriety of convening at Washington, delegates of the friends of Ireland of all the States, is under serious deliberation. A fund will ere long be derived from American patriotism in the United States, which will astonish your haughtiest opponents. It is our ardent hope that you will continue to preserve the steady purpose in which you have been so long engaged. A sublime trust is reposed in you; a question of surprising interest is consigned to your care. You enjoy the confidence of your countrymen; you consequently possess a commanding influence over their deeds. May you ever exercise this influence with fidelity and effect; with an uncompromising regard for human rights; with a firm allegiance to the cause of liberty; and a never-ceasing hostility to bigots, factionists, and exclusionists, whether of Protestant or Catholic complexion!

WM. J. MACNEVIN, President,

New York, Jan. 20, 1829.

No. XXIX.

Documents read in the course of the Duke of Wellington's Reply to the Marquess of Anglesey in the House of Lords, May 4, 1829.

I.—Lord Anglesey to the Duke of Wellington.

(EXTRACT.) September 24, 1828.

I have known for a considerable time, and a recent communication has strongly corroborated the fact, that the Catholic question may be adjusted at this moment with more facility (upon as good terms, and with as little opposition), on the part both of the bishops and the agitators, than at any other period. I have reason to feel confident that the bishops would be satisfied with very fair terms, in respect to their nomination; that they would only very feebly oppose the payment of the Catholic clergy; and that even upon the much more difficult subject of the forty-shilling freeholders there would only be little resistance.

II.—The Duke of Wellington to Lord Anglesey.

My dear Lord Anglesey,

I have, equally with my colleagues, seen three letters which you have written to Mr. Peel on the Roman Catholic question. I have laid one of them before the King; the other two he has not seen yet, as his Majesty has been unwell; and no immediate necessity existed for laying them before him. But I will lay them be-

fore the King as soon as he shall be sufficiently well for me to speak to him upon a subject, of which he never hears nor never thinks without being disturbed by it. I have not written to you on this subject, because I had nothing to tell you. As an individual member of parliament, I never will support what is called Catholic emancipation till it shall be brought forward by the government, as government, in a shape to satisfy me that the arrangement proposed will secure the interests of the state. In these I include the church of England. As the King's servant, I, equally with all the servants whom his Majesty has had in his service since the year 1810—that is, the commencement of the unrestricted regency—am bound not to act in this question as the King's minister. The late Mr. Canning embodied in a memorandum, which I have seen, and which was communicated to the members of his government, that which was before that time understood.

From this statement you will see that the first step of all is to reconcile the King's mind to an arrangement. Till that should be done, I should deceive myself, or the person to whom I should address myself, by talking about it at all.

I think, likewise, that I should give just grounds for suspicion to his Majesty, and his servants, and to the Protestants of the empire in general, with whom after all the difficulty of the question rests, if I were to discuss with the Roman Catholic clergy, or the demagogues of the Roman Catholic Association, a plan to be submitted by the government to parliament for the adjustment of this question.

You see the preliminary difficulties attending it; and I must add, that all those attending the question exist here. These are of a nature quite distinct from those existing in Ireland. Some are of opinion that the difficulties in Ireland will be got the better of by the adjustment of the question. I doubt it. But whether this will be the result or not, it is quite clear that nothing can be done now:—that our affair now, and indeed in Ireland always will be, to preserve the peace, and to insure the loyalty and good-will of all his Majesty's subjects, by protecting the lives and properties of all.

Ever yours, &c.

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.

III.—Lord Anglesey to Mr. Peel.

July 26th, 1828.

If I should fortunately be enabled, by the advice and warnings I give, to keep this country in a quiet state for a little time longer—if the Association should cease to agitate, and there were to be any thing like an appearance of moderation—I most seriously conjure you to signify an intention of taking the state of Ireland into consideration in the first days of the next session of parliament.

IV.—The Duke of Wellington to Dr. Curtis.

London, Dec. 11th, 1828.

My dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 4th instant, and I

assure you that you do me justice in believing that I am sincerely anxious to witness a settlement of the Roman Catholic question, which, by benefiting the state, would confer a benefit on every individual belonging to it. But I confess that I see no prospect of such a settlement. Party has been mixed up with the consideration of the question to such a degree, and such violence pervades every discussion of it, that it is impossible to expect to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately.

If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides (for they are very great), I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Ever your most faithful humble Servant,

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.

V.—Letter of the Marquess of Anglesey to
Dr. Curtis.

Phoenix Park, Dec. 23rd, 1828.

Most Reverend Sir,

I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd, covering that which you received from the Duke of Wellington of the 11th instant, together with a copy of your answer to it.

I thank you for the confidence you have reposed in me.

Your letter gives me information upon a subject of the highest interest. I did not know the precise sen-

timents of the Duke of Wellington upon the present state of the Catholic question.

Knowing it, I shall venture to offer my opinion upon the course that it behoves the Catholics to pursue.

Perfectly convinced that the final and cordial settlement of this great question can alone give peace, harmony, and prosperity, to all classes of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom, I must acknowledge my disappointment on learning that there is no prospect of its being effected during the ensuing session of parliament. I, however, derive some consolation from observing that his Grace is not wholly adverse to the measure; for, if he can be induced to promote it, he, of all men, will have the greatest facility to carry it into effect.

If I am correct in this opinion, it is obviously most important that the Duke of Wellington should be propitiated; that no obstacle that can by possibility be avoided should be thrown in his way; that all personal and offensive insinuations should be suppressed; and that ample allowance should be made for the difficulties of his situation.

Difficult it certainly is, for he has to overcome the very strong prejudices and the interested motives of many persons of the highest influence, as well as to allay the real alarms of many of the more ignorant Protestants.

I differ from the opinion of the Duke, that an attempt should be made to "bury in oblivion" the question for a short time—first, because the thing is utterly impossible; and next, because, if the thing were possible, I fear that advantage might be taken of the pause, by

representing it as a panic achieved by the late violent reaction, and by proclaiming that if the government at once and peremptorily decided against concession, the Catholics would cease to agitate,* and then all the miseries of the last years of Ireland will be to be re-acted.

What I do recommend is, that the measure should not be for a moment lost sight of;—that all anxiety should continue to be manifested;—that all constitutional (in contradistinction to merely legal) means should be resorted to, to forward the cause;—but that, at the same time, the most patient forbearance, the most submissive obedience to the laws, should be inculcated;—that no personal and offensive language should be held towards those who oppose the claims.

Personality offers no advantage; it effects no good:—on the contrary, it offends; and confirms predisposed aversion. Let the Catholic trust to the justice of his cause—to the growing liberality of mankind. Unfortunately, he has lost some friends, and fortified his enemies, within the last six months, by unmeasured and unnecessary violence. He will soonest recover from the

* I was *literally* inaccurate in imagining and asserting that the word *agitate* did not occur in the letter; but I was *substantially* and *logically* correct in saying, that I did not *recommend* the Catholics to *agitate*. Where that word occurs, it is put into the mouth of their enemies, who are supposed, in a certain contingency, to be taunting and reproaching them.

I do not say, "I advise you to agitate;" but I say, "if you are quite silent, your enemies (who describe your fair and constitutional exertions by the word *agitation*, meant in an offensive sense) will cry out, that you have ceased to *agitate*, because *they* have been firm and peremptory."—A.

present stagnation of his fortunes, by showing more temper, and by trusting to the legislature for redress.

Brute force, he should be assured, can effect nothing. It is the legislature that must decide this great question; and my greatest anxiety is, that it shall be met by the parliament under the most favourable circumstances, and that the opposers of Catholic emancipation shall be disarmed by the patient forbearance as well as by the unwearied perseverance of its advocates.

My warm anxiety to promote the general interests of this country, is the motive that has induced me to give an opinion, and to offer advice.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) ANGLESEY.

To the Most Rev. Dr. Curtis, &c.

VI.—Letter of the Most Reverend Dr. Curtis, in answer to the preceding of the Marquess of Anglesey.*

Drogheda, Dec. 25, 1828.

My Lord,

I have this moment the honour of receiving your Excellency's letter of the 23rd inst. returning to me his Grace the Duke of Wellington's communications, and conveying your own admirable, kind, and patriotic sentiments on the Catholic question, with most friendly advice concerning the proper means to be adopted for promoting that cause, and for sedulously avoiding such violent measures, as have already injured, and may, if not corrected, eventually ruin it.

* This letter has never before been printed.

Vouchsafe, my Lord, to accept my unfeigned thanks for this excess of condescension, and real goodness of heart, of which I find no precedent at all similar in any Chief Governor that this ill-fated country has ever before had ; but I am peculiarly grateful for so extraordinary a mark of your Excellency's confidence reposed in me, which shall not be deceived or disappointed, but end by a suitable return of fidelity and attentive caution.

I have, however, taken the liberty (which I confide your Excellency will approve) of communicating the purport of your letter (as I had of the Duke of Wellington's) to my chief confidential friend and *confrère*, the Most Rev. Doctor Murray, R. C., Bishop of Dublin, whom I have always found to be a most capable, safe, and pious prelate, and the best qualified I know for aiding me to induce the popular leaders of the Roman Catholic body, and others, in and out of the Catholic Association, to pursue a more moderate course of proceeding than they had sometimes hitherto done, and thereby caused, as they well know, no small pain to Dr. Murray and to me.

I hope I may not be considered as obtrusive in taking the liberty humbly to recommend that worthy and amiable prelate to your Excellency's notice, should any thing occur, on the present or any future occasion, in which his co-operation might be considered useful ;—for all such purposes, as indeed for every thing else, Dr. Murray would be, not only more at hand, but much more efficient than I could be, that am sinking under a weight of years to the grave.

I was really astonished, and cannot as yet conceive,

how your Excellency, overwhelmed with so many important affairs, could possibly find time, or submit to the trouble of writing with your own hand the long letter I have just been honoured with; so remarkable for its solidity and prudent benevolence, that I am confident that even the warmest Catholic agitators, if they heard it read, would gratefully acquiesce with me in every syllable it contains; even independently of your Excellency's assurances of personal attachment to the Catholic cause, with which they would necessarily be delighted beyond description; for, in effect, your sentiments are so highly favourable, that I could not wish them, nor could they possibly be more so, unless your Excellency became an ultra partisan of the cause, and consequently incapable of rendering it any real service in your present elevated station.

I have the honour to remain, with the utmost respect and sincere gratitude,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most obedient

and most humble servant,

(Signed)

P. CURTIS.

To his Excellency the Marquess of Anglesey,

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXX.

BRUNSWICK CLUBS.

I.—*Dublin University Brunswick Club.**

At a meeting held at Morrison's Rooms, on Friday, the 7th instant, pursuant to resolution of the 28th ult., to form a Brunswick Constitutional Club of the Graduates of the University of Dublin, Dr. Hodgkinson, Vice-Provost, having been unavoidably detained during the early part of the day, the chair was taken in his absence by

LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEMAINE.

Previous to the business of the day, it was moved by Colonel Irwin, A. B., and seconded by Joseph Napier, Esq. A. M.—

That, as a proper preliminary to the regular proceedings of the day, the meeting do express their heart-felt gratitude to the Rev. Charles Boyton, for his manly and constitutional conduct in having aroused, not only

* The meeting here alluded to, is selected from the many which had previously been established in almost every part of Ireland, being in its nature and means of support most calculated to influence the future destinies of Ireland. In the very wide extension of these pernicious sources of private feud and animosities of the most uncharitable character, it may be remarked, that the city of Waterford formed an almost solitary and truly honourable exception, notwithstanding the attempts which were made to introduce such a system of irritation and bad feeling.

the Protestant spirit of the University, but of the whole country.

The following resolution then passed unanimously:

1st Resolution,—Proposed by the Venerable Archdeacon of Lismore, seconded by the Rev. Marcus Beresford—

That the graduates of the University of Dublin feel themselves called on to unite, at the present important crisis, not from any principle of offence, but solely for defence; and that it is the bounden duty of every graduate of the University to stand fearlessly forward in defence of that church which the University was established to support—in defence of those laws, the dispensers of which that University was established to provide, and in defence of that religion, which that University was established to inculcate and disseminate.

2nd Resolution,—Proposed by Robert M'Loughlin, Esq., A.B., seconded by Charles Lendrick, Esq., L.L.D., and M.D.—

That a society be now formed, entitled the Brunswick Constitutional Club of the Graduates of the University of Dublin; the principles of the club to be such as necessarily flow from a determination to preserve our Protestant constitution, and maintain the Protestant institutions of the country in their present integrity.

3rd Resolution,—Proposed by George Moore, Esq., L.L.D., and M.P., seconded by the Rev. T. P. Magee, L.L.D.—

That all graduates of the University not amenable to college discipline, as well as all others, become such by their *ad eundem* privilege, who are now present, and

who are willing to subscribe to the foregoing resolutions, be admitted members of the club, on payment of a subscription not less than half-a-guinea, nor more than one guinea annually, in advance; and that all graduates who may hereafter wish to join the club shall be eligible on the recommendation of three members.

4th Resolution,—Proposed by the Rev. J. Stack, A. B., and F. T. C. D., seconded by William Kellock Tatam, Esq., A. B.—

That his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, Chancellor of our University, and L. L. D., be requested to become patron of the club.

5th Resolution,—Proposed by Frederick de Butts, Esq., A. M., seconded by Richard Handcock, Esq., A. B., and M. P.—

That Francis Hodgkinson, Esq., L. L. D., and Vice-Provost of our University, be requested to accept the office of President of the club, and that the following noblemen and gentlemen be requested to accept the office of Vice-Presidents of the club:—

| | |
|---|--|
| Earl of Enniskillen | Rev. John Darley, A. B., and F. T. C. D. |
| Earl of Carrick | Venerable Archdeacon of Lismore |
| Viscount Castlemaine | Rev. John Crostwaite, B. D. |
| Lord Edward Chichester | Rev. H. Maxwell, A. B. |
| Sir Edward Hayes, Bart. | Sergeant Lefroy, L. L. D. |
| Rev. George Millar, D. D. | George Ogle Moore, Esq., L. L. D., and M. P. |
| Rev. William Phelan, D. D. | Richard Handcock, Esq., A. B., and M. P. |
| Rev. Romney Robinson, D. D. | Edward Synge Cooper, Esq., A. B., and M. P. |
| Rev. T. P. Magee, L. L. D. | Colonel Irwin, A. B. |
| Rev. J. C. Martin, A. M., and F. T. C. D. | Colonel Blacker, A. B. |
| Rev. Charles Boyton, A. M., and F. T. C. D. | Lieutenant-Colonel M'Alpine, A. B. |
| Rev. J. B. Chapman, A. M., and F. T. C. D. | Charles Lendrick, Esq., L. L. D., President of the College of Physicians |
| Rev. Joseph Stack, A. B., and F. T. C. D. | |

That Henry Maxwell, Esq., A.B., and M.P., be appointed Secretary to the Club; and the Rev. H. Cottingham, A.M., Joseph Napier, Esq., A.M., W. K. Tatam,, Esq., A B., and F. De Butts, Esq., A.M., be appointed Assistant-Secretaries; and that Richard C. Martin, Esq., A. B., be appointed Treasurer; and that the following gentlemen, together with the officers of the club, do constitute the Committee of Management :—

Rev. T. F. Knipe, A.M.
 Rev. Marcus Beresford, A M.
 Rev. Prince Crawford, A.M.
 Rev. John Whitty, A.M.
 Rev. Irvine Whitty, A.M.
 Rev. R. Ryan, A.B.
 Rev. W. H. Halpin, A.B.
 Rev. H. Vaughan, A. B.
 Rev. A. J. Preston, A.B.
 Rev. J. H. Torrens, A.B.
 Rev. D. Thompson, A.M.
 Lees Gifford, Esq. L.L.D.
 William Maginn, Esq. L.L.D.
 Dixon Eccles, Esq. A.B.

J. C. Moutray, Esq. A.B.
 James Saunderson, Esq. A.B.
 Oliver Nugent, Esq. A.B.
 St. George Gray, Esq. A.B.
 R. Fox, Esq. A.B.
 Andrew Bell, Esq. A.B.
 Thomas Dixon, Esq. A.B.
 Thomas Luby, Esq. A.M.
 W. Beatty, Esq. A.M. M.B.
 Richard Webb, Esq. A.B.
 John Dunlevie, Esq. A.B.
 Robert Kelly, Esq. A.B.
 E. John Smith, Esq. A.B.

II.—*Orangemen of Ireland.*

At a meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, held at 19, Dawson Street, on the 5th November and following days, the Right Hon. the Earl of Enniskillen, Deputy Grand-Master, in the chair—

The report of the committee having been read—

Resolved unanimously, That the following address to the Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland be adopted, and immediately circulated :—

It is not less the interest than the duty of Protestants

to support, by every lawful means, the religious and civil establishments of their country. By these the honour of God and the happiness of man are most effectually secured. In the present era, our religion is menaced by the attacks of Popery and Infidelity, while our constitution is assailed by faction and sedition.

Against the double danger the Orange institution was formed, being so named in honour of King William the Third, Prince of Orange, the illustrious champion to whom Great Britain owes her deliverance from thralldom, spiritual and political, the establishment of the Protestant religion, and the inheritance of the Brunswick throne.

We lay no claim to exclusive loyalty, or exclusive Protestantism; but no man, unless his creed be Protestant, and his principles loyal, can associate with us. We recognise no other exclusions. Our institution receives, nay, solicits into its circle, every man whose religion and character can stand these tests.

We reject also an intolerant spirit. It is a previous qualification, without which the greatest and wealthiest man would in vain seek our brotherhood, that he shall be incapable of persecuting; injuring, or upbraiding any one for his religious opinions; but, on the contrary, that he shall be disposed to aid and assist loyal subjects of every religious persuasion, and to protect them from violence and oppression. Such, and such only, are the principles upon which the Orange institution was founded, and upon which it has uniformly acted. Yet our enemies have affected to consider our forms and arrangements contrary to statutes which were enacted

against treasonable and seditious societies. The spirit of such statutes could by no ingenuity of perversion be urged against the Orange institution; but where the most strained interpretation could question its legality, the institution promptly complied, and disdained to evade, even the letter of these statutes.

Our rules are open not only to the members of our institution, but to the whole community. We have no reserve whatsoever, except of the signs and symbols whereby Orangemen know each other, and these the law has not included in its prohibition. Our Association is general; it meets wherever Orangemen are to be found, and that we trust will soon be in every part of the empire.

There is not either oath, obligation, or test, which candidate or brother can take or offer in our society; the proposal of members, their admission, and their continuance among us, are wholly unfettered with pledge or promise; nevertheless we can truly tell the world, that no unqualified person can come into, and no unworthy brother remain in our fellowship.

The Orange institution cannot be suppressed, but by means which would subvert the constitution of Great Britain, and erase the name of the Prince of Orange from among her sovereigns. After that erasure, the Brunswick dynasty would soon follow. The liberty of these realms, our religion, and our monarchy, would again be placed under Papal darkness and despotic oppression.

By order,

HENRY MAXWELL, M.P.,

Grand Secretary.

No. XXXI.

*Declaration of the undersigned Protestants, in favour of a final and conciliatory adjustment of the Catholic question.**

We, the undersigned, being personally interested in the condition, and sincerely anxious for the happiness of Ireland, feel ourselves called upon, at the present juncture, to declare the conviction we entertain, that the disqualifying laws which affect his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, are productive of consequences prejudicial in the highest degree to the interests of Ireland, and the empire to which she is united. With respect to Ireland in particular, they are a primary cause of her poverty and wretchedness, and the source of those political discontents and religious animosities that distract the country, endanger the safety of its institutions, and are destructive alike of social happiness and national prosperity.

* Whilst this important document was circulating, the last aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland took place. The resolutions consisted of their usual declarations of their principles; and a determination to seek for total, unrestricted, unqualified, and unconditional emancipation by legal and constitutional means alone; the rejection of any plan of emancipation coupled with any species of interference with the tenets, doctrine, or discipline, of the Catholic church in Ireland; any attempt to deprive forty-shilling freeholders of their franchise, which they considered a direct violation of the constitution; and strongly recommended the adoption of the Liberal Club system—the appointment of Catholic Rent inspectors, and that two gentlemen from every county in Ireland should accompany Mr. O'Connell to London, on making his attempt to take his seat in parliament.

We are further of opinion, that unless the wisdom of the legislature shall speedily apply a remedy to those evils, they must, in their rapid progress, assume, at no distant period, such a character as must render their ultimate removal still more difficult, if not impossible.

We therefore deem it of paramount importance to the welfare of the empire at large, and of Ireland especially, that the whole subject should be taken into immediate consideration by parliament, with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the united kingdom, to the stability of our national institutions, and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his Majesty's subjects.

NOBLEMEN.

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Duke of Devonshire | Earl of Clare |
|Leinster |Leitrim |
| Marquess of Lansdowne |Lucan |
|Downshire |Llandaff |
|Sligo |Caledon |
|Westmeath |Gosford |
|Ormonde |Blessington |
|Hastings |Glengall |
|Clanricarde |Dunraven |
| Earl of Essex |Bective, M.P. co. Meath |
|Jersey | Viscount Dillon |
|Fortescue |Bangor |
|Meath |Boyne |
|Granard |Clifden |
|Albemarle |Harberton |
|Wentworth Fitzwilliam |Lismore |
|Darnley |Ebrington, M.P. Tavistock |
|Besborough |Ennismore, M.P. co. Cork |
|Egmont |Forbes, M.P. co. Longford |
|Ludlow |Duncannon, M.P. county |
|Miltown | Kilkenny |
|Charlemont |Kingsborough |
|Howth | Baron Sherborne |
|Kingston |Riversdale |
|Portarlington |Cloncurry |
|Annesley |Waterpark |
|Mountnorris |Rossmore |
|Wicklow |Crofton |

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Baron De Blaquiére | Baron Clements, M. P. co. Leitrim |
| Ventry | Clifton, M.P. Canterbury |
| Wallscourt | Bingham, M.P. co. Mayo |
| Dunalley | Brabazon |
| Clanmorris | Arthur Hill, M.P. co. Down |
| Ashtown | William C. O. Fitzgerald, |
| Glentworth | M.P. co. Kildare |
| Perceval | Robert Stephen Fitzgerald |
| Oxmantown, M. P. King's | Count de Salis |
| county | Baron de Roebeck |

BARONETS.

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Thomas Charles Style, Kent | Emanuel Moore, co. Cavan |
| Francis Lynch Blossé, co. Mayo | R. Musgrave, co. Waterford |
| Thomas Butler, co. Carlow | John Newport, M.P. Waterford |
| N. C. Colthurst, M.P. Cork | Edward O'Brien, co. Clare |
| C. Coote, M.P. Queen's co. | H. Parnell, M.P. Queen's co. |
| William R. de Montmorency, coun- | George Shee, co. Galway |
| ty Kilkenny | M. Somerville, M.P. co. Meath |
| John Godfrey, county Kerry | W. J. Homan, co. Westmeath |
| Aubrey de Vere Hunt, county Li- | J. C. Coghill, Surrey |
| merick | James M. Stronge, co. Armagh |
| Nicholas Loftus, co. Kilkenny | F. W. Macnaghten, co. Antrim |
| Capel Molyneux, co. Armagh | Richard Killett, co. Cork |

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Right Hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, | James Grattan, M.P. co. Wicklow |
| M.P. county Kerry | C. D. O. Jephson, M.P. Mallow |
| Hon. Henry Caulfield, M.P. county | Lucius O'Brien, M.P. county Clare |
| Armagh | William S. O'Brien, M.P. Ennis |
| Hon. H. R. Westenra, M.P. county | James O'Hara, M.P. Galway |
| Monaghan | James Daly, M.P. county Galway |
| Hon. F. Ponsonby, M.P. Higham | Alexander Dawson, M.P. co. Louth |
| Ferrers | Arthur French, M.P. co. Roscom- |
| Hon. Geo. Ponsonby, M.P. Youghal | mon |
| Hon. F. A. Prittie, M.P. co. Tip- | Henry V. Stuart, M.P. co. Waterford |
| perary | H. M. Tuite, M.P. co. Westmeath |
| Hon. R. Fitzgibbon, M.P. county | Richard Power, M.P. co. Waterford |
| Limerick | Thomas S. Rice, M.P. Limerick |
| Hon. C. H. Butler Clarke, M.P. co. | Thomas Lloyd, M.P. co. Limerick |
| Kilkenny | Henry Grattan, M.P. city of Dublin |
| Hon. Thomas R. King, M.P. county | J. S. Lambert, M.P. county Galway |
| Cork | Robert S. Carew, M.P. co. Wexford |
| Hon. G. I. W. Agar Ellis, M. P. | Richard W. Talbot, M.P. co. Dublin |
| Ludgershall | James Browne, M.P. county Mayo |
| Charles Brownlow, M.P. co. Ar- | Henry White, M.P. county Dublin |
| magh | Robert Latouche, M.P. co. Kildare |
| Thos. Bernard, M.P. King's county | Peter Van Homrigh, M.P. Dro- |
| J. H. North, M.P. Milborne Port | gheda |
| Samuel White, M.P. county Leitrim | J. Fitzgerald, M.P. Seaford, Sussex |

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF GENTLEMEN AND OTHER RANKS.

A

Arabin, H. Kilmacud, co. Dublin
 Arabin, H. W. Clare-street, Dublin
 Alcock, H. (J.P.) Waterford
 Acheson, James, Fleet-st. Dublin
 Ambrose, W. S. St. Andrew-st. do.
 Arabin, Charles, Moyvoughly
 Armstrong, A. Gallen, King's co.
 Armstrong, A. Kilsharvan, co. Meath
 Armstrong, F. St. George, Garrycastle House, King's county
 Armstrong, Owen, Gormanstown Green, county Meath
 Atkinson, Joseph, Barberstown
 Allridge, William, Kilbereen
 Arabin, J. L. Corkagh, co. Dublin
 Anderson, Wm. Abbey-st. Dublin
 Armstrong, L. Stephen's-green, do.
 Armstrong, R. (Col.) Newtown Hill
 Armstrong, J. Mt. Venus, co. Dublin
 Armstrong, D. Merchant's-quay, do.
 Armstrong, R. L. Ormond-quay, do.
 Armstrong, H. L. Bridge-st. ditto
 Armstrong, James, M.A. Presbyterian Minister, Hardwicke-st. do.
 Allen, Francis, Usher-st. do.
 Alley, Richard J. (Lieut. R. N.) Kildinan, county Cork
 Archdekin, T. Michael-st. Waterford
 Arnold, Wm. Creve, co. Monaghan
 Armstrong, George, (clk.) Binglefield, county Cavan
 Adderley, A. (Surgeon, R. N.) Newry
 Allingham, William, Ballyshannon
 Allingham, Edward, ditto
 Atkinson, John, M. D. Castlebar
 Acheson, James, Oakes, L. Derry
 Ardagh, William M. (J.P.) Waterford
 Ambrose, Charles, ditto
 Alcock, Alexander M. ditto
 Alcock, John C. ditto
 Alcock, John, ditto
 Anderson, James, Queen-st. Dublin
 Allingham, John, Capel-street, do.
 Adams, J. Drummerboy, co. Armagh
 Arthur, William, Belfast
 Andrews, James, Comber, co. Down

Andrews, John, co. Down
 Archer, Samuel, Belfast
 Abbott, Richd. Queen-st. Dublin
 Armstrong, E. St. George
 Allingham, James, Capel-st. Dublin
 Altoon, J. Cloghan Castle, King's co.
 Andrews, James, jun. Belfast
 Agnew, Edward Jones, Kilwaughter Castle, Larne, county Antrim
 Alcock, Waskeline, (J.P.) Rough Grove, Bandon
 Allman, Francis, Overton, co. Cork
 Allman, George, Milton, do.
 Allman, Robert, Bandon, ditto
 Allman, William George, ditto
 Allman, Charles, ditto
 Audley, Archibald T. county Cork
 Alker, John Drew, South Mall, Cork
 Abbott, John G. Mallow
 Allman, James C. Bandon
 Allman, Richard, ditto

B

Bushe, Gervais Parker, Waterford
 Bushe, Henry Amys, Glencairn, Lismore
 Busby, John, jun. New-st. Dublin
 Burton, E. W. General Military Hospital, Phoenix Park, Dublin
 Blood, Geo. Montpelier-hill, ditto
 Blood, George, jun. ditto
 Bushe, Henry, Waterford
 Barrett, Samuel, N. Anne-st. Dublin
 Bolton, Wm. E. Brazil, co. ditto
 Barrett, Richd. Suffolk-st. ditto
 Brady, Maziere, Blessington-st. do.
 Birch, Thos. Wormwood-gate, do.
 Blundell, Henry R. Prussia-st. do.
 Brice, Edward, Kilroot, co. Antrim
 Bennett, John, Church-st. Dublin
 Bennet, H. Anderson's-court, ditto
 Bryan, Robert Butler, Mallards-town, county Kilkenny
 Brennan, Jas., L. Bridge-st. Dublin
 Bell, Francis, Linenhall-street, do.
 Bernard, Charles, Carlow
 Barnes, Joseph, Upper Pembroke-street, Dublin
 Booker, B. Mecklenburg-st. ditto
 Bell, Richard, Linenhall-street, do.

- Beauman, E. J. Furnace, co. Kildare
 Burrowes, Peter, Leeson-st. Dublin
 Blood, Neptune, Trinity street, do.
 Beere, Daniel, Mountjoy-sq. E. do.
 Bond, Walter M'Keogh, Denican,
 county Armagh
 Barrington, Richard, Great Britain-
 street, Dublin
 Bennett, R. N. Harcourt-street, do.
 Bennett, Richard B. ditto
 Bermingham, Richard, (clk.) Rec-
 tor of Mora, county Tipperary
 Boyse, Samuel, Grange, co. Wexford
 Boyse, Thos., Grange, ditto
 Byrne, A. Merchant's-quay, Dublin
 Byrne, R. Lower Bridge-street, do.
 Baird, Samuel, Merchant's-quay, do.
 Baird, James H. ditto
 Browne, S. (M.D.) Seapoint Ave-
 nue, county Dublin
 Burnside, Matthew J. (J.P.) Cor-
 creevy House, county Tyrone
 Burnside, Matthew, Five-mile-town,
 ditto
 Brown, Samuel, Cavan
 Beauchlerk, Aubrey, Ardglass Castle,
 county Down
 Bruce, Samuel, Dame-street, Dublin
 Barnes, Thos. Dunover, co. Meath
 Barnes, Thomas, Westland, ditto
 Berwick, Edward, Lower Fitzwil-
 liam street, Dublin
 Berwick, Walter, do. do.
 Baird, T. M. Merchant's-quay, do.
 Butler, William, E. T. M. Ville,
 Clonmel
 Browne, Dominick, Castlemacgarret,
 county Mayo
 Brennan, George, Corn-market,
 Dublin
 Balfour, B. T. Townley Hall,
 Drogheda
 Brough, Frederick, Henry-street,
 Dublin
 Bryan, J. Castletown, Fermanagh
 Byrne, Thos. Corn-market, Dublin
 Brega, S. B. Middle Mountjoy-
 street, ditto
 Barret, William, Lower Merriion-
 street, ditto
 Burrowes, George, Kells
 Brooke, R. Ballyboden, co. Dublin
 Burchell, George, Lower Ormond-
 quay, Dublin
 Brechon, Thomas, Newtown, near
 Ross, county Wexford
 Bruce, George Evan, (J.P.) Charle-
 ville
 Bell, J. H. (M.D.) Newry
 Bick, Samuel, ditto
 Baird, Hans, ditto
 Bingham, John, (M.D.) Rossmore
 Beatty, Josias, Armagh
 Browne, W. H. (J.P.) Rahins, co.
 Mayo
 Browne, W. P. D. ditto
 Budd, James, Waterford
 Bingham, Hon. Denis Arthur, Ra-
 hasane, county Galway
 Blake, James Cuffe, Belmont, ditto
 Burke, William, ditto ditto
 Blake, Valentine, ditto
 Blake, Thomas ditto
 Blake, J. F. ditto
 Barnes, George, county Armagh
 Boyd, Robert, Marlacor, ditto
 Barnes, John, county Armagh
 Barnes, James, ditto
 Bell, Thomas, Drumennis, ditto
 Boyd, William, Belfast
 Barnett, James, ditto
 Boyd, William, jun. ditto
 Brennan, Alexander, ditto
 Blennerhassett, Henry, (M. D.)
 Dingle, county Kerry
 Brooke, Henry, North Wall, Dublin
 Bernie, James, Waterford
 Blackmore, John, Callan, county
 Kilkenny
 Brennan, John Edward, Furnace,
 county Kildare
 Brown, John, Usher's-quay, Dublin
 Blackwell, James, county Dublin
 Brennan, R. Bridge-street, Dublin
 Blake, Michael, Cook-street, Dublin
 Breckon, John, New Ross, county
 Wexford
 Burrowes, Peter, jun. co. Dublin
 Burke, T. Gisborne, Fahy, county
 Galway
 Blake, Giles Eyre, Grange, ditto
 Barnes, William, Aughnacloy
 Budd, James, Tramore, county of
 Waterford
 Boomer, James, Belfast
 Bevington, James B. London
 Boyd, Robert, jun. Belfast
 Bankhead, John B. ditto

- Bradshaw, Robert Scott, Belfast
 Barnett, John, ditto
 Boyd, John, ditto
 Benson, John, ditto
 Bell, Henry, ditto
 Barkley, Archibald, ditto
 Bowles, Adam, ditto
 Boyd, Cunningham Gregg, ditto
 Boyd, John C. do
 Brierly, Henry, Lower Gloucester-street, Dublin
 Biggar, James, N. Anne-street, do.
 Bradley, John, Bishopland
 Bannington, William, Molesworth-street, Dublin
 Burderry, John, Belfast
 Bolton, George, Beresford-place, Dublin
 Bryan, James B. Temple, London
 Browell, Samuel, Dundrum, county Dublin
 Blunden, Simeon, Annfield, county Kilkenny
 Browne, G. Coolin, county Roscommon
 Beatin, Henry I. Moira, co. Down
 Baly, Benj. Myshall, co. Carlow
 Blacker, Robert, Newtown, county Wicklow
 Browne, Dennis, Brownstown House, county Mayo
 Bradly, Benjamin, Old Bawn, co. Dublin
 Ball, Robert, Digges-street, Dublin
 Blood, Edward, T. C. D.
 Boursiquot, Samuel, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin
 Boursiquot, John, ditto
 Burrowes, Richard, jun. co. Dublin
 Butler, P. S. ditto
 Burch, George, Monaentra, Roscrea, Queen's county
 Burch, James F. ditto
 Burch, John, Burch Green, ditto
 Blake, Richard, (J.P.) Garracloone, county Mayo
 Boyd, James, Belfast
 Billing, James S. Beresford-place, Dublin
 Bradshaw, Benjamin B. Gambons-town, county Tipperary
 Bowning, Jeffrey, Carass Park, Limerick
 Brady, Matthew, Trinity-st. Dublin
 Butler, Walter, Creg, co. Galway
 Burke, William, Tuam, Galway
 Barron, Charles C. Strand-street, Waterford
 Barrett, Daniel D. Michael-st. do.
 Blacker, William, (J.P.) Woodbrook, county Wexford
 Beamish, Francis Bernard, Cork
 Beamish, Robert Beaumont, ditto
 Boardman, Arthur A. ditto
 Beamish, Charles, ditto
 Burose, William Edward, ditto
 Beamish, William Beaumont, ditto
 Burchaell, David, Crandondale, county Cork
 Burchaell, Richd. Tinnehinch, co. Carlow
 Burtchaell, Edward, Knockbarron, county Kilkenny
 Burtchaell, Robert, Lockincorley, ditto
 Burtchall, Robert, Kilkenny
 Borbridge, William, Cookstown
 Bleazby, William, Ballynacurra, county Cork
 Breerton, David, Springfield, county Longford
 Bingham, George Elliott, Longford
 Butler, Pierce, (J.P.) Ballyconna, county Kilkenny
 Burgh, W. (J.P.) Norelands, ditto
 Baker, John, Killuran, ditto
 Bayley W. John's Hill, ditto
 Bayley, Clayton, Kilmeen, ditto
 Baker, Henry, Killuran, ditto
 Burchall, David, High-street, ditto
 Bradley, Thomas, ditto
 Bell, James, county Down
 Boswell, William, Athlone
 Boswell, John, (barrister) Athlone
 Bourke, B. (Solicitor) Thurles, co. Tipperary
 Biggs, Jeremiah, Bandon
 Bates, John, Cork
 Bullen, John, Roughwood, Kinsale
 Bullen, William, ditto
 Bullen, Robert, ditto
 Bullen, Edward Roche, ditto
 Bullen, J. Harbour View, Kinsale
 Bowen, Robert Cole, Bandon
 Bowen, Henry Cole, ditto
 Browne, John, Bangor, co. Down
 Brown, Alexander, Bangor, county Down
 Brown, James, ditto
 Brown, Henry, ditto

- Brown, Henry, jun. co. Down
 Bryan, William, ditto
 Boyd, Alexander, ditto
 Bowman, James, ditto
 Bourke, B. jun. Thurles, county
 Tipperary
 Bourke, James Williams, ditto
 Bradshaw, George, (M.D.) ditto
 Birmingham, S. Carremanna Lodge,
 county Galway
 Bowles, H. (J.P.) Sackville House,
 Ardfert, county Kerry
 Barnes, William, Armagh
 Bellsaigne, Matthew, Bandon
 Bayly, Thomas, Kilbrittain, county
 Cork
 Beecher, William Wrixon, Bally-
 giblin, Mallow
 Baker, Henry J. Kilcoran, county
 Kilkenny
 Bushe, Arthur, Merrion-row, Dublin
 Bryan, John, Mallardstown, county
 Kilkenny
 Beatty, Robert, Ballyconnell, co.
 Down
 Barron, Robert, Bangor, co. Down
 Byron Andrew, Coltown, ditto
- C
- Colclough, Cæsar, Tintern Abbey,
 county Wexford
 Caulfield, James Eyre, co. Armagh
 Corry, James, Merrion-sq. Dublin
 Considine, H. Dark, county Clare
 Curran, William Henry, Holles-
 street, Dublin
 Curran, Henry Grattan, ditto
 Conway, Frederick William, Rath-
 mines, county Dublin
 Caulfield, John, county Meath
 Cooper, William, Cooper's Hill,
 Carlow
 Cooper, William Cope, ditto
 Cockburn, George, (General) Shan-
 ganagh Castle, Bray, county
 Dublin
 Coall, Henry, 3, Upper Sackville-
 street, Dublin
 Cheyne, J. (M.D.) Merrion-square,
 ditto
 Colles, A. (M.D.) Stephen's-green,
 ditto
 Cochran, Henry, Merchant's-quay,
 ditto
- Cusack, M. Kildare-street, Dublin
 Carpenter, Henry, Merchant's-quay,
 ditto
 Cullinan, Roger, A.B. Sch. T.C.D.
 Carmichael, Richard, Rutland-squ.
 ditto
 Clarke, Jonathan D. Merrion-sq.
 ditto
 Callanan, James, (M.D.) Exche-
 quer-street, ditto
 Craig, William, Tucker's-row, ditto
 Crawford, Thomas, Ballievy, county
 Down
 Christie, James M. Linen Hall,
 Dublin
 Cox, R. Castletown, co. Kilkenny
 Cuthbert, Eccles, Stephen's-green,
 Dublin
 Crampton, Philip, (Surgeon-Gener-
 al), Merrion-square, ditto
 Classon, John, Blackhall-place, do.
 Costello, Marcus, Sch. T.C.D.
 Cuming, William, Clare-st. Dublin
 Collins, John G. Montague-street,
 ditto
 Caulfield John, county Carlow
 Chambers, Edward Elliott, Kildare-
 street, Dublin
 Colgan, James, St. Andrew-st. do.
 Coghlan, James, (Merchant,) Sligo
 Cordue, William, Ballina
 Cordue, William, ditto
 Colclough, Bagnall, St. Kerin's,
 county Wexford
 Clarke, Thomas, Bailestown, ditto
 Callanan, Patrick James, Sch.
 T.C.D.
 Clendinning, Alexander, (J.P.) Bal-
 linrobe
 Carey, Robert, (clk). Donoghmore
 Glebe, county Tipperary
 Clerk, Edward, A.B. T.C.D.
 Cholmondeley, Horace, Newtown-
 barry, county Wexford
 Coyle, George K. Moorfield, county
 Galway
 Chute, Arthur, Tralee
 Challoner, Robert, Coolattyn Park,
 Tinahely
 Cooke, Samuel, Poinstown, county
 Tipperary
 Concannon, John Edward, Water-
 loo, county Galway
 Campbell, John, sen. James'-street,
 Dublin

- Chute, Pierce, (J.P.) Nelson-street,
 Tralee
 Chute, Thomas, ditto ditto
 Crainmore, William, Carnmoney,
 county Antrim
 Campbell, Robert, sen. Bangor
 Carr, John, ditto
 Clealand, James, ditto
 Campbell, Thomas, ditto
 Crooke, William, Derreen, Cork
 Carey, Michael, (Lieut. 83rd.)
 Mount-rivers, Cork
 Carson, William, Little Island
 Chute, Pierce, jun. Nelson-street,
 Tralee
 Clarke, Alexander, Athlone
 Cox, Sir William, (J.P.) Coolcliff,
 county Wexford
 Cooper, S. Gt. Clonard, ditto
 Cooper, Henry, ditto
 Church, George, Listowel, county
 Kerry
 Church, John G. ditto ditto
 Creagh, Francis, Ballyboman, co.
 Kerry
 Cannon, Charles, Moyglare, county
 Meath
 Coddington, H. B. Farm, ditto
 Coote, Charles, (J.P.) Bellmont
 Forest
 Cully, Richard, Moorehall, county
 Armagh
 Coulter, Richard Carnmeen, county
 Down
 Coulter, James, ditto ditto
 Coulter, John, county Armagh
 Corbett, John, Newry
 Coulter, William, ditto
 Corry, T. (J.P.) ditto
 Cumming, John, Lower Ormond-
 quay, Dublin
 Cavendish, Frederick, Castlebar
 Creagh, John, Dromartin
 Creagh, Francis, Killoughnan
 Creagh, Oliver, ditto
 Cooke, William, Waterford
 Concannon, Edward, county Galway
 Carroll, William, Armagh
 Cuthbert, John, Limerick
 Cochran, George, Armagh
 Cairnes, William, Belfast
 Charters, John, ditto
 Curell, John, ditto
 Corbett, Thomas, ditto
 Coates, William, Snugbrook, Belfast
 Cunningham, John, Macedon, ditto
 Cunningham, John, jun. ditto ditto
 Chaytor, Joshua M. Belview, county
 Dublin
 Crawford, William Sharman, Ban-
 gor, county Down
 Clarke, I. (clk.) Waterford
 Carew, Robert S. Woodstock, co.
 Wexford
 Cooke, Richard, Waterford
 Clarke, Henry, ditto
 Carroll, William, ditto
 Clarke, Pierce, ditto
 Calwell, N. jun. Dublin
 Crawford, George, Ballydown, co.
 Down
 Connor, Charles, Moyglare, county
 Meath
 Coyle, George K., Moorfield, co.
 Galway
 Charlton, Andrew D., Derrynaugh,
 Armagh
 Cumming, James, Aughnacloy, co.
 Tyrone
 Corbit, William, Belfast
 Campbell, James, ditto
 Chirmside, Thomas, ditto
 Cosgrave, John, ditto
 Callwell, Robert, ditto
 Campbell, Robert W. ditto
 Corvan, Samuel, ditto
 Corduke, John, ditto
 Campbell, Samuel, ditto
 Caird, John, ditto
 Charles, John, Finnaghy, ditto
 Coleman, J. H. ditto
 Colville, John, jun. ditto
 Cross, Maurice, ditto
 Cranston, William, ditto
 Cobham, John, Upper Temple-st.
 Dublin
 Campion, Christopher W. French-
 street, ditto
 Creevy, John, Downpatrick
 Carey, T. (J.P.) county Armagh
 Clarke, Joseph, Carrickmacross
 Curney, Robert, Clonmel
 Close, Burrowes, ditto
 Chambers, B. R. Rahinstown, co.
 Armagh
 Croker, Robert, Ballyboy
 Cordukes, Isaac, jun. Strand-street,
 Dublin

- Clements, George, Temple-bar, Dublin
 Cooney, John, Rathmines, ditto
 Clouston, Thomas, Poolbeg-street, ditto
 Coffey, Eneas, Dock Distillery, do.
 Chambers, James, Killyleagh, co. Down
 Crawford, William, Lakelands, Cork
 Crawford, George, ditto
 Crawford, William, Ferney, near do.
 Christian, George, Cork
 Clarke, Richard, ditto
 Carroll, John, Tulla House, Nenagh, county Tipperary
 Crosbie, James, Ballyheige Castle, Tralee
 Crosbie, Oliver, ditto
 Crosbie, Francis, ditto
 Clarke, Usher, Carrick-on-Suir
 Cunningham, Wm. Carrickfergus
 Cunningham, Hugh, ditto
 Carey, Thomas, Belfast
 Coleman, Alexander A. ditto
 Crevey, John, Carman
 Coghnan, William, Springfield, co. Longford
 Campbell, Robert, jun. co. Down
 Colthurst, John B. Dripsey Castle, county Cork
 Colles, Richard, Riverview, county Kilkenny
 Colles, William, Millmount, ditto
 Connellan, Peter, Jerpoint, ditto
 Chebsey, Peter, Jersey
 Cuthbert, John, Newenham-street, Limerick
 Cooke, Adam, Thurles
 Cooke, Charles, ditto
 Cooke, Archibald, Athlone
 Cook, Archibald, jun. ditto
 Cumming, James, Armagh
 Carey, James Lodge, (Licut. 101st Foot,) county Cork
 Clealand, Baiben, Bangor, county Down
- D
- Dillon, Charles, Athlone
 Daxon, Giles, county Clare
 Dreunan, Wm. Temple-st. Dublin
 Dawson, James, Kingstown
 Dickson, John, Fleet-street, Dublin
 Dickson, Fleet-street, Dublin
 Donville, John, Lower Mount-st. ditto
 Dickson, Stephen, Stephen's-green, ditto
 Darley, Arthur, South Cumberland-street, ditto
 Duggan, James, Usher's-island, do.
 Dickson, Stephen Fox, Townsend-street, ditto
 Durham, Francis, Henry-street, do.
 Digby, Thomas George, Drumduff, county Roscommon
 Dudgeon, John, Merchant's-quay, Dublin
 Dick, James, Ballyboden, county Dublin
 Dunbavin, Wm. High-st. Dublin
 Dixon, William, Liverpool
 Devonshire, A. Kilshearnick Castle, county Cork
 Dyas, William, Castle-st. Dublin
 Day, Thomas, Tralee
 Denning, Maynard, ditto
 Dobbin, John, New Ross, county Wexford
 Dawson, Charles, (J.P.) Terragh, county Monaghan
 Dodd, John, Emaville
 Davis, Matthew, Ballyshannon, co. Donegal
 Dickson, William, Templemore, co. Tipperary
 Devlin, Thomas, Castlebar
 Dobbin, Leonard, Armagh
 Dickson, Samuel, High Sheriff of the county Limerick
 Dobbin, William, Ternacolee, co. Armagh
 Dobbin, John, Rathdrumgarne, co. Armagh
 Dobbin, Clotworthy, Belfast
 Dunne, Stewart, Carrickfergus
 Dobbin, Thomas, Rathungan, co. Armagh
 Dobbin, Thomas, Armagh city
 Dunlop, James, Belfast
 Dundas, George, ditto
 Dobbyn, Michael, Waterford
 De Blaquiére, P. D.
 Darley, Henry, Stillorgan, county Dublin
 Donovan, Daniel, (M.D.) Chiswell-street, London

- Dickson, Samuel, Fleet-st. Dublin
 Durham, Thomas, Henry-st. ditto
 Dunlavy, George, Kinsale, co. Cork
 Donnelly, Thomas, Enniscorthy
 Dowden, Richard, Cork
 Dickson, Stephen, Moonroe, Vicar
 of Dungarvan
 Drought, Thomas, Droughtville
 Forest, King's county
 Dogherty, John, Aughenderry, co.
 Derry
 Downes, H.
 Dumoulin, John, Stephen's-green,
 Dublin
 Dickey, Adam, Ballymena
 Dickson, Robert, Carmoney, county
 Antrim
 Dix, Thomas, (clk.) Belfast
 Drought, Robt., Ballygeehan, Queen's
 county
 Dixon, John, county Wexford
 Dixon, James, ditto
 Dixon, John, jun. ditto
 Dixon, William, ditto
 Davidson, William, Monaghan
 Divine, Richard, Ullard, county Kil-
 kenny
 Drought, Richard, Graigue, Carlow
 De la Cour, Robert, Bear Forest,
 Mallow, county Cork
 Day, Edward, (Lieut. Col.) Tralee
 Dunne, John, Bangor, co. Down
- E
- Evans, George, Portrane, county
 Dublin
 Ensor, George, Armagh
 English, William, Eccles-st. Dublin
 English, Isaac, Bachelor's-walk, do.
 English, William, Dawson-st. ditto
 Ellis, William S.
 Engar, J. Minard, county Kerry
 Egan, Robert, Dingle, ditto
 Evans, George, Farmhill, Athy
 Edmundson, Allen, Boyle, county
 Roscommon
 Ellis, Henry, Prussia-st. Dublin
 Edgeworth, Lovel, Edgeworthstown
 House
 Ellis, Francis, Crescent, Bath
 Elliott, Gilbert, Clinto, county Mo-
 naghan
- Egan, Daniel, Borrosokeane, county
 Tipperary
 Emerson, James, Belfast
 Egerton, James, Thurles, county
 Tipperary
 Elliott, E. county Kilkenny
- F
- Farrell, Thomas, Stephen-st. Dublin
 Fortescue, William H. J. Great
 George-street, ditto
 Fisher, John, Upper Bridge-street,
 ditto
 Forbes, George, Burgh-quay, ditto
 Ferguson, William, (M.D.) Leix-
 lip
 Finlay, John, Cumberland-street,
 Dublin
 French, R. jun. Monivea
 Fowler, John, Portland-place, Dub-
 lin
 Forster, Robert, Springfield, county
 Tyrone
 French, Fitzstephen, Frenchpark
 House, county Roscommon
 French, John, (clk.)
 French, Richard, Elm Lodge, South-
 ampton, Hants
 Fetherston, James, Rockview, co.
 Westmeath
 Fetherston, Richard, ditto
 Farrell, Luke, Belfast
 Ferguson, Hugh, Bachelor's-walk,
 Dublin
 Fitzmorris, James, Clenstown, co.
 Kilkenny
 French, Thomas Fitzstephen, county
 Roscommon
 Fitzgerald, Gerald, Clonmel
 Fitzgerald, James Henry, Ballymo-
 nan, county Wicklow
 Fosbrey, George, Curra Bridge, co.
 Limerick
 Fleming, George, Athlone
 Fleming, Henry, ditto
 Ffrench, Anthony Frederick, New
 Ross, county Wexford
 Fletcher, Henry, ditto
 French, John, ditto
 French, Anthony, ditto
 French, Thomas, ditto
 Fisher, Robert, ditto

- Fawcett, James, Blackhall street, Dublin
 Fletcher, William, Merrion-square, ditto
 Fletcher, W. P. Foster-place, ditto
 Fively, Wm. Union Lodge, Newry
 Fitzgerald, Charles, Foxford, county Mayo
 Fitzgerald, John, ditto
 Fitzgerald, Hamilton, R. N.
 Fitzmaurice, W. Lagatina, co. Mayo
 Fletcher, John, Ferns, co. Wexford
 Fanning, Nicholas, Blackhall-street, Dublin
 Furnell, Michael, Limerick
 Forsythe, James, (M.D.) Belfast
 Frie, Henry, Waterford
 Foss, Richard, Usher's-quay, Dublin
 Flinn, William, Cork-street, ditto
 Flinn, John, ditto ditto
 Fitzgerald, Gerald, Enniscorthy
 Finlay, F. D. Belfast
 Ferguson, John J. ditto
 Finlay, Alexander, ditto
 Ferguson, J. S. ditto
 Flint, Abraham, Cook-street, Dublin
 Farrar, Joshua, county Wicklow
 Farrar, William, ditto
 Fayle, William Knot, Parsonstown, King's county
 Fitzhenry, William Evans, Ballywilliamroe, county Carlow
 Foot, Wade, Cork
 Foot, Henry B. Carriquina Castle, Cork
 Foot, George, ditto
 Fraser, James, Carrick-on-Suir
 Finch, Edward, Tullaghmore, Nounagh
 Finch, William, (J.A.) county Tipperary
 Finch, Daniel, ditto
 Farrell, John, Doagh, co. Antrim
 Flood, Ross, Cranagh, Athlone
 Fitzgibbon, E. Agherenagh, county Cork
 Francis, Robert, George's-st. Cork
- G
- Groves, Edward, (clk.) Leeson-st. Dublin
 Grierson, John, ditto
 Guinness, Arthur, Beaumont, co. Dublin
 Guinness, Benjamin L. James'-gate, Dublin
 Guinness, Arthur L. ditto
 Grierson, James, Swift's-alley, do.
 Geoghegan, William M. Francis-st. ditto
 Gould, John, Cullenswood House, county Dublin
 Grattan, Richard, (M.D.) York-st. Dublin
 Gaskin, Edward, College-green, do.
 Goodshaw, James, (M.D.) Leixlip
 Goodshaw, Thomas, ditto
 Goodshaw, William, ditto
 Gunning, John B. Stranorlar
 Galbraith, John, Harold's-cross, co. Dublin
 Gillington, George, Abbey-street, Dublin
 Guthrie, John, (barrister,) Great Britain-street, ditto
 Green, Peter H., A. B. T. C. D. Cork
 Gray, George, Linenhall-st. Dublin
 Grace, Sheffield, Temple, London
 Going, James, Clanbrasil-st. Dublin
 Gibbing, Samuel, Sandymount Avenue, county Dublin
 Goskin, J. S. Swift's Hill, county Kilkenny
 Going, Henry, Cranna House, ditto
 Guinness, William S. Mountjoy-sq. North, Dublin
 Gayer, Arthur Edward, Talbot-st. ditto
 Gahan, B. county Londonderry
 Gahan, Henry G. ditto
 Gouldsbury, J. A. county Longford
 Gamfort, William, Great Clonard, Wexford
 Gamfort, Joseph, ditto
 Graves, William, Ross
 Graham, Allen, High Mount, county Limerick
 Green, Robert, Newry
 Glenny, Isaac, Glenville, ditto
 Graham, John, Poyntzpass
 Godfrey, George Ogle, Newry
 Graham, Jacob
 Green, F. W. Kilvanslagh
 Gibson, James, A. B. Belfast
 Graham, Benjamin, Waterford
 Gibbons, John, Tramore, ditto
 Gudman, Arthur, ditto ditto
 Gardner, Samuel, county Armagh

Gardner, Edward, county Armagh
 Gardner, William, ditto
 Green, George, Lurgan, ditto
 Girvin, James, Greenvale, ditto
 Grimshaw, Robert, Belfast
 Grimshaw, C. B. ditto
 Gamble, Robert, ditto
 Grimshaw, J. M. Whitehouse, ditto
 Getty, Edmond, ditto
 Getty, Robert, ditto
 Green, Joseph, Kilkenny
 Grimshaw, John, Belfast
 Glasgow, James, ditto
 Getty, William, ditto
 Gregg, Cunningham, (J.P.) ditto
 Greenlaw, Robert, ditto
 Gunning, Robert, ditto
 Gray, Robert, ditto
 Gowan, Henry, Lower Ormond-quay, Dublin
 Galbraith, Samuel, Nicholas-street, ditto
 Galbraith, William, ditto
 Gion, A. Ballymena, co. Antrim
 Garvey, J. P. Castle House, Banagher, King's county
 Goslin, John, Bride-street, Dublin
 Green, Thomas, Clonmel
 Going, James, ditto
 Goodison, Richard, Carneen, county Wicklow
 Goodison, Thomas, ditto
 Goodison, William, ditto
 Gilbert, Joseph, ditto
 Griffin, John, ditto
 Griffin, John, jun. ditto
 Gilbert, Francis, ditto
 Griffin, William, ditto
 Goslin, Isaac, ditto
 Graham, William, county Wexford
 Grant, James, Claremount, Banagher, King's county
 Gilpin, Joseph, Portadown, county Armagh
 Grey, Thomas, Keady, ditto
 Gibson, John, Cork
 Gouldsbury, J. A. Springfield, co. Longford
 Green, Joseph, (J.P.) Lower Grange, county Kilkenny
 Geale, Benjamin, Mountgeale, ditto
 Grubb, Robert, High-st. Kilkenny
 Grubb, Samuel, Clogheen, county Tipperary

Green, John, Greenville, county Kilkenny
 Green, George, Lurgan, co. Armagh
 Gardner, John, Coltown, co. Down
 Gray, James, Bangor

H

Howard, Hon. Hugh, Bushypark, county Wicklow
 Hope, S. C. Dublin
 Hunt, V. De Vere, Curragh, county Limerick
 Hone, Joseph, Harcourt-st. Dublin
 Hart, William S. Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin
 Hart, William, Williamstown, Black-rock, ditto
 Home, George, National Market, do.
 Holmes, Alexander, Kilcullen, co. Kildare
 Howell, George, Molesworth-street, Dublin
 Hill, J. M. Armagh
 Huband, Joseph, Charlemont-mall, Dublin
 Hatchell, George, Rathfarnham
 Henry, Arthur, Lodge Park, county Kildare
 Hutton, John, Summer-hill, Dublin
 Hutton, Robert, ditto ditto
 Hutton, Thomas, ditto ditto
 Harty, Lewis, Kilkenny
 Hogan, Anthony, Kildare st. Dublin
 Harley, John, James'-street, ditto
 Humphreys, Christopher W. Merchant's-quay, ditto
 Humphreys, Charles, ditto
 Hone, Brindley, Roebuck
 Hill, Edward, (M.D.) York-street, Dublin
 Haughton, William, City-quay, ditto
 Hutton, Edward, Summer-hill, ditto
 Henderson, David, Dodder Bank, county Dublin
 Hutton, Henry, Baldoyle, ditto
 Heyland, James A. Cullenswood, ditto
 Hutton, Henry, Summer-hill, Dublin
 Henderson, James, Tritonville, Sandymount
 Hudson, W. (M.D.) Dawson-street, Dublin

- Hughes, Reuben, Lower Ormond-quay, Dublin
 Hawkshaw, Benjamin, Behaman, co. Tipperary
 Hughes, William, Waterford
 Hartley, William J. Fitzwilliam-sq. East, Dublin
 Hartstonge, Matthew Weld, Molesworth-street, Dublin
 Hutton, John, James'-street, ditto
 Hutton, Charles, ditto
 Hutton, Daniel, jun. Marlborough-street, ditto
 Hawthorn, Chas. S. Belmont House, county Dublin
 Hyde, John, Castle Hyde, co. Cork
 Hyde, John, jun. ditto ditto
 Hitchcock, Robert, Harcourt-street, Dublin
 Hutton, Joseph, (clk.) Summer-hill, ditto
 Haig, Robert, Roebuck, county Dublin
 Haig, John, Flora Ville, ditto
 Hayes, Robert, Lower Bridge-street, Dublin
 Hale, John, Fever Hospital, Cork-street, ditto
 Harty, Robert, (Alderman) Dublin
 Healy, Robert, (M.D.) Aungier-street, Dublin
 Hayes, Thomas, Lower Bridge-street, ditto
 Henry, Robert, College-green, ditto
 Hayes, Robert, jun. Lower Bridge-street, Dublin
 Hewit, Christopher, Ballyboden, co. Dublin
 Hewit, William, ditto
 Hudson, Edward G. (clk.) Rector of Glenville, county Cork
 Head, Michael Prittie, Derry Castle, county Tipperary
 Hickson, John, Dingle, co. Kerry
 Hickson, Samuel Murry, ditto
 Hume, Wm. Wentworth Fitzwilliam, Humewood, county Wicklow
 Haughton, Thomas, Kelvin Grove, Carlow
 Haughton, Edmond, ditto
 Holton, John, Athlone
 Howlan, James, (J. P.) Ballycro-nigan, county Wexford
 Harvey, William, (J.P.) Kyle, ditto
 Harvey, Christopher G. (J.P.) co. Wexford
 Harvey, Maurice Crosbie, (J.P.) do.
 Hill, Robert, New Ross, ditto
 Hill, George, ditto ditto
 Hayes, Joseph, New Ross, do. do.
 Hillard, Henry, county Kerry
 Harnet, John Creagh, Listowel, do.
 Homan, Frederick, (J.P.) Arden Wood, county Dublin
 Harding, George, Gurteen, county Limerick
 Hudson, William, Armagh
 Holland, James N. N. ditto
 Hunter, Robert, Castlebar
 Hewson, Thomas, Westport
 Handcock, William H. Carantrilla, county Galway
 Hudson, William Elliott, Lower Merrion-street, Dublin
 Hackett, James, Newcastle, county Tipperary
 Handcock, John, (J.P.) co. Armagh
 Henderson, William, Belfast
 Howe, Thomas, ditto
 Hartley, John, ditto
 Houston, Robert, ditto
 Hodgson, John, ditto
 Hamilton, W. R. (Capt. R. N.) Killyleagh Castle, county Down
 Hewson, Thomas, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin
 Hogan, John, (J.P.) co. Westmeath
 Hayden, William Henry, Waterford
 Hammond, William, ditto
 Hayes, J. James'-street, ditto
 Humphrey, John Caulfield, county Carlow
 Hunt, James, Francis-street, Dublin
 Haughton, James, City-quay, ditto
 Hyle, Charles, Cook-street, ditto
 Hunter, Robert, College-green, do.
 Hagarty, James C. Eccles-street, do.
 Harrington, R. Aughnacloy, county Tyrone
 Hardman, William, Belfast
 Hyndham, George C. ditto
 Houston, John H. Orangefield, ditto
 Harvey, William F. Belfast
 Haughton, Edward, ditto
 Holden, Henry, ditto
 Hyndham, Hugh, ditto
 Hervey, John, ditto
 Horn, John, Liverpool

- Hunter, Alexander, Dunmanry, Belfast
Hindley, Joseph, Mecklenburg-street, Dublin
Hamilton, Henry, Freeman of the Merchants' Guild, Dublin
Hewston, David, Piltown, county Kilkenny
Haslett, John, Lurgan, co. Armagh
Hussey, Edward J. Galtrim, county Meath
Hussey, Edward H. ditto
Holbrooke, Benjamin, Manchester
Hackett, Michael, Parsonstown, King's county
Heenan, William, ditto
Holbrook, John Richard, Anglesey-street, Dublin
Hunt, John, Aungier-street, ditto
Hawkes, Charles, Brierfield, county Roscommon
Hamilton, Thomas, Stewartstown, county Tyrone
Hill, John, Omagh, ditto
Hilles, John, Bailieborough, county Cavan
Haughton, Barcroft, Castlecomer, county Kilkenny
Hart, William Gerard, (clk.) Cork
Halliday, William, Deerpark Lodge, county Cork
Halliday, Daniel, jun. Carrick-on-Suir
Halliday, Daniel, ditto
Hinley, John, Richardstown, ditto
Helsham, John, (J.P.) county Kilkenny
Hayden, William, ditto
Hartford, Thomas, ditto
Henderson, Andrew, ditto
Hickson, Robert, Vicar of Duagh, county Kerry
Hanna, Robert, Crawfordburn, co. Down
Hickson, James, Kenmare, co. Kerry
Hayden, Henry, Thurles, county Tipperary
Hayden, William Henry, ditto
Harrington, R. Armagh
Hunter, William, (clk.) Bandon, county Cork
Hayes, H. B. Cork
Haynes, John William, Mallow, county Cork
- Howard, William, Clonaghmore, co. Meath
Holmes, John, Carrickfergus
- I
- Irwin, W. Cloncorrick, Killyshandra, county Cavan
Ingham, John, Lisnamain, Belturbet, county Cavan
Ivie, George, Waterford
Ingram, Moses, Rosegrove, Harold's Cross, county Dublin
Irwin, William, Armagh
Innis, Thomas William, Innistiogue, county Kilkenny
Irwin, Edward, Merchant's-quay, Dublin
- J
- Johnson, Robert, Edenderry, King's county
Jacob, Ebenezer, Upper Temple-street, Dublin
Journeaux, James A. Arran-quay, do.
Jays, Edward, Cuffe-street, ditto
Jeffcott, William, A.B. T.C.D
Johnson, Thomas, Seville-place, Dublin
Johnson, Daniel, Leixlip
Jones, Arnold, Vitriol Works, Watling-street, Dublin
Jackson, William, Ballybay, county Monaghan
Jones, Edw. Bachelor's-walk, Dublin
Jordan, Thomas, Peace Ville, Newtown Mount Kennedy, county Wicklow
Jameson, John, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin
Jackson, Thomas, Great Brunswick-street, ditto
Jones, William Griffith, Dominick-street, ditto
Jameson, James, Dublin
Jameson, John, ditto
Jordan, Richd. Richview, co. Dublin
Joyce, Henry, Clonmel
Jeffcott, Thomas, Dingle
Jeffries, Thomas, Great Clonard, county Wexford

- James, John, Ross, co. Wexford
 Jeffries, Joseph, ditto
 Jeffries, George, ditto
 Jeffries, Shephard, Great Clonard, do.
 Johnson, Arthur, (M.D.) Carrick-
 breda, county Armagh
 Jackson, James Eyre, Sullydoy, do.
 Jago, Edward
 Johnson, George, Beresford-street,
 Dublin
 Johnson, Thomas, ditto
 Johnson, James, Lurgan, co. Armagh
 Johnson, John, Belfast
 Johnson, William, Fortfield, ditto
 Johnston, Thos. Mountjoy-squ. do.
 Judge, Benjamin, Newtown, King's
 county
 Jordan, P. Townsend-street, Dublin
 Jones, Thomas, Cork
 Jones, Anthony, (M.D.) Ashbourn,
 county Meath
 Jones, R. B. Tullow, co. Waterford
 James, Christopher, Danville, co.
 Kilkenny
 Jackson, Hugh, Ballywooly, county
 Down
 Johnston, Thomas, Thurles, county
 Tipperary
 Johnston, William, Bangor, county
 Down
 Johnston, Robert, ditto
 Johnston, John, ditto
 Jenkins, William, Mallowgiton,
 Bandon
- K
- Kelly, Thomas, (clk.) Kellyville,
 Queen's county
 Kelly, Thomas, jun. ditto
 Kennedy, John, Johnstown, county
 Dublin
 Kelly, James, Upper Pembroke-st.
 Dublin
 Kelly, Francis, Wexford
 Kertland, Wm. Prussia-street, Dublin
 Kingsmill, Luke, Templemore
 Knox, John, Villa Park, Grand Ca-
 nal, Dublin
 Knox, Charles, Ardglass, county
 Down
- Kidley, John H. (M.D.) Belfast
 Kinnon, E. S. Monkstown, county
 Dublin
 Kelly, John, Kilkenny
 Kelly, Daniel, Cargins, county Ros-
 common
 Kertland, Joseph, Lower Sackville-
 street, Dublin
 Kelly, Edmond W. Ballymurry
 Kelly, Edmond, jun. Ballymurry
 Knowles, Lionel, Gomershall, Leeds,
"a friend to peace"
 Knox, John, North Anne st. Dublin
 Kent, John, Ballymalone
 Kellett, Richard, Blessington-street,
 Dublin
 Kellett, John, Great Clonard, Wex-
 ford
 Keogh, Edw. Ross, county Wexford
 Kavanagh, Edward, (J. P.) ditto
 Kelly, John, Waterford
 Kennedy, James, Newry
 Kearney, Robert, Ballinvilla, county
 Mayo
 Kingston, Isaac, Waterford
 Kidd, Hugh, Armagh
 Kane, John, ditto
 Kidd, James, Mullmount, ditto
 Knight, James, Waterford
 Kearney, Joshua, Henry-st. Dublin
 Kennedy, John, Rosemount, ditto
 Kellett, William Harvey, Great Clo-
 nard, county Wexford
 Keppel, Hon. George, county Ros-
 common
 Kelly, John, Harold's-Cross, Dublin
 Kidd, Samuel Archibald, Linenhall,
 Armagh
 Kidd, James, county Armagh
 Keegan, Robert, county Wexford
 Knaggs, Geo. Parsonstown, King's
 county
 Kennedy, John, Ballykillare, county
 Down
 Knaggs, James, Thurles, county
 Tipperary
 King, Robert, Ashgrove, co. Armagh
 Kennedies, John Mackey, Armagh
 Kingston, F. B. Bandon, co. Cork
 Kelly, James, Bangor, co. Down
 Kelly, Andrew, ditto

L

- La Touche, John David, Castle-street, Dublin
 La Touche, Peter, jun. ditto
 La Touche, David Charles, ditto
 La Touche, R. D. ditto
 La Touche, George
 La Touche, John, (clk.) Vicar of Mountrath
 La Touche, Robert, (Lieut.-Col.) county Dublin
 Leader, Nicholas P. Dromard Castle, Kanturk, county Cork
 Lambert, Thomas D. county Galway
 Leahy, John, North King-street, Dublin
 Leeson, William Edward, Ely-place, ditto
 Lawlor, M. S. county Kerry
 Leslie, P. A. Bride-street, Dublin
 Lowe, Josiah, Fitzwilliam Lodge, do.
 Lawson, Edward, William-st. ditto
 Lidwill, George, Dromard, county Tipperary
 Lowe, Pascal Pasley, Leixlip
 Leeson, Hon. Robert, Ely-place, Dublin
 Livingston, Edmund D. North Earl-street, ditto
 Litton, Daniel, Lower Mount-street, ditto
 Livesley, Henry, Ellenea Villa, Terenure, county Dublin
 Litton, Richard, Lower Ormond-quay, Dublin
 Lysaght, Richard, Lower Pembroke-street, ditto
 Lewis, George Christian, Meath-st. ditto
 Lewis, Abraham, Merchant's-quay, ditto
 Leahy, John, Sch. T. C. D.
 Lambert, Walter, Lambert Lodge, county Galway
 Lambert, Henry, Oggard, ditto
 Lloyd, John, Lloydsborough, Roscrea, Queen's county
 Lindsey, Thomas Spencer, Hollymount House, county Mayo
 Littlewood, H. J. Linenhall-street, Dublin
 Langstaff, Joseph, Kingstown
- Lloyd, Thomas, jun. Ballyvourne, county Limerick
 Lloyd, Eyre, Birchmount, ditto
 Lynam, John, jun. Bachelor's-walk, Dublin
 Leake, George R. county Clare
 Lamphier, Thomas, New Ross, co. Wexford
 Lamphier, Joseph, ditto
 Lamphier, Joseph F. ditto
 Leigh, John, ditto
 Leadman, Thos. county Kerry
 Lloyd, Edw. Heathfield, county Limerick
 Little, Archibald, Newry
 Lipsett, Michael, Ballyshannon, co. Donegal
 Lyle, Joseph, Newry
 Lewis, W. county Mayo
 Lamrick, William, Castlebar
 Lyle, Acheson, Gardiner's-place, Dublin
 Lyle, Hugh, Oak Lodge, Londonderry
 Lawson, James, Waterford
 Lindsey, Richard, Armagh
 Lyle, John, Belfast
 Lake, Samuel, ditto
 Lindsey, John, Sackville-st. Dublin
 Lamb, Joshua, Lisburn
 Laphan, John D. Waterford
 Lamphrey, J. (M.D.) ditto
 Lane, Edw. Clonmel
 Lindsay, John, Tullyhenan, county Down
 Lucas, Edward, Castleshane, county Monaghan
 Law, Hugh, Gilford, county Down
 Lightfoot, William, High-st. Dublin
 Luke, James, Belfast
 Lamb, Joshua, Lisburn
 Leech, William Preston, Kilkenny
 Leeson, Isaac, county Wicklow
 Leggett, Robt. county Wexford
 Lane, Vere, Denzille-st. Dublin
 Lidwill, Frederick M. Droma, co. Tipperary
 Lane, James, Cork
 Logan, Wm. C. county Cork
 Lane, George, Kilworth, ditto
 Lester, Richard, Carrick-on-Suir
 Lester, George, ditto
 Loftus, Francis Hamilton, Mount Loftus, county Kilkenny

Leadbeater, Richard G. Stradbally
 Langley, Benjamin, Athlone
 Langley, William, ditto
 Lester, Joshua, Thurles, county Tip-
 perary
 Lawless, Robert, ditto
 Laud, Wm. H. Cardiffe, Glamorgan-
 shire, "*a visitor to Ireland*"
 Leader, Thomas, Cork
 Lindsay, James, Carnmoney

M

Mahony, Pierce, Merrion-square,
 Dublin
 Morrisson, Richd. Gloucester-st. do.
 M'Donnell, John, New Hall, Ennis,
 county Clare
 M'Kenny, Thomas, (Alderman,)
 Dublin
 Maguire, Constantine, Tempo
 M'Neill, Gordon, county Dublin
 Marley, G. (Lieut.-Col.) Belvedere,
 county Westmeath
 Mahony, David, Mount-st. Dublin
 Magee, James, Trinity-street, ditto
 Milner, George, Rutland, co. Dublin
 Malone, Richd. Baronstown, King's
 county
 Maunsell, Charles
 M'Mullen, John, Blackhall-street,
 Dublin
 Martin, Thos. Ballinahinch Castle,
 county Galway
 Milward, William, Waterford
 M'Bride, George, Abbey-st. Dublin
 Melladew, Thomas B. Wormwood-
 gate, Dublin
 Metcalfe, Timothy, James'-street.
 ditto
 Macartney, James, (M.D.) Upper
 Merrion-street, ditto
 M'Cready, John D. (M.D.) Eustace-
 street, ditto
 Murry, Samuel, Harcourt-st. ditto
 Millner, John, Mountmellick
 Maxwell, Thomas, Burgh - quay,
 Dublin
 M'Dermott, Joseph, Castlekiew
 Morgan, Sir T. Charles (knt.) Kil-
 dare-street, Dublin
 Maeder, John George, Queen-street,
 ditto

Mongan, Thomas, Lower Mount-
 street, Dublin
 Murray, Matthew, Ranelagh
 Mee, William Moore, Dublin
 Millikin, Richard, Grafton-st. ditto
 Morris, Benjamin, Grafton-st. ditto
 Manders, Richard, Brackenstown,
 county Dublin
 Manders, Robt. Airfield, co. Dublin
 M'Conchy, William, Buckingham-
 street, Dublin
 Marshall, J. Markham, co. Kerry
 Mansergh, John Wm. Ballyboden,
 county Dublin
 Morris, William, Waterford
 M'Clelland, Robert, Summer-hill,
 Dublin
 Mills, Thomas, (M. D.) Rutland-
 square, ditto
 M'Intire, N. B. Summerhill, ditto
 Marsh, Henry, (M. D.) Molesworth-
 street, ditto
 Moore, William, Mabbot-st. ditto
 Mannington, Edward, ditto
 Mathers, John P. Camden-street,
 ditto
 Mitchell, James, (M.D.) Newtown
 Mount Kennedy, co. Wicklow
 Martineau, James, (clk.) Dublin
 M'Connell, John, St. Andrew-st.
 ditto
 Maguire, Alexander, Bolton-st. do.
 M'Donnell, John, (M.D.) Belve-
 dere-place, ditto
 M'Carthy, M. F. T. Enniskean, co.
 Cork
 M'Carthy, Dionysius, A.B. T.C.D.
 Montgomery, Robert, Essex-street,
 Dublin
 Morrisson, John, (M.D.) ditto
 Morrisson, Richard, jun. (M.D.) do.
 Morrisson, William, Gloucester-st.
 ditto
 Morrisson, Fielding, (clk.) Vicar of
 Corkmahide
 M'Cullagh, Henry, Ballyboden, co.
 Dublin
 Morgan, Edward, Bridestown, co.
 Cork
 Molyneux, James, Great Brunswick-
 street, Dublin
 Meares, Charles, Dorset-street, do.
 Meahan, John, New Ross, county
 Wexford

- Mason, Frederick, Ballygrennan, county Kerry
 Moore, Howard, (R.N.) Carlow
 M'Minn, Joseph, jun. Newry
 Mollon, John, ditto
 Melling, John, ditto
 May, James, ditto
 Madden, Wm. James'-st. Dublin
 Meaken, Robert, Newry
 Molyneux, Echlin, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin
 Malley, William S. county Mayo
 Martin, Thomas, ditto
 Maxwell, W. W. (clk. J. P.) Prebendary of Balla, co. Mayo
 Mason, Oliver, (J.P.) Kilmore
 M'Clean, Benjamin, Waterford
 Massey, Godfrey, Tramore, county Waterford
 Massey, Hugh, ditto ditto
 Macklin, Thos. Thornton, George's-place, Dublin
 M'Guire, Geo. Holles-street, ditto
 M'Williams, William, Armagh
 Marshall, Joseph, ditto
 Murry, William, Ednavease, ditto
 M'Williams, Thomas, ditto
 Marks, Benjamin, Cloveneden, co. Armagh
 Moore, Edward F. Blackwatertown, ditto
 Marks, Jacob, Cloveneden, ditto
 M'Kinstry, Robert, ditto
 M'Kinstry, L. Glenkeady, ditto
 M'Kean, Edward, Ballyhandan, do.
 M'Bride, Robert, Allistragh, ditto
 M'Cance, John, Suffolk, Belfast
 Mulholland, Andrew, ditto
 M'Laine, Alexander, ditto
 Maclurkan, Thomas, ditto
 Moore, William John, ditto
 M'Kibben, Hugh, ditto
 M'Cracken, Francis, ditto
 Murphy, John, ditto
 M'Clean, Adam, ditto
 M'Tear, George, ditto
 M'Donnell, Alexander, ditto
 M'Donnell, James, (M.D.) ditto
 M'Cracken, John, ditto
 M'Cance (clk.) William, Waterford
 M'Dougall, Patrick, ditto
 Mortimer, Michael, ditto
 M'Dougall, Thomas, ditto
 Marks, Samuel A. ditto
 Morrissey, Samuel, Waterford
 M'Grath, Thomas, ditto
 M'Bride, Thomas, county Dublin
 Mulligan, John, Ballyboden, ditto
 Maddox, Thomas, Buckingham-st. Dublin
 Mulligan, John, Parkmount, county Down
 Molswood, Christopher, Capel-st. Dublin
 Morton, James, Clonmel
 Montgomery, Thomas, Aughnacloy, county Tyrone
 Mackey, John, Kennedies, ditto
 M'Kinstry, J. Lurgan, co. Armagh
 M'Kenzie, John, Belfast
 M'Clean, Samuel, ditto
 Montgomery, George, ditto
 M'Donnell, Thomas, ditto
 Montgomery, H. (clk.) ditto
 M'Adam, James, ditto
 M'Adam, John, ditto
 Moore, James, ditto
 Magee, Robert, Lodge, ditto
 Morgan, John, Belfast
 Magill, James, ditto
 M'Dowell, Robert A. (J.P.) ditto
 M'Cormick, Henry, (M.D.) ditto
 M'Cabe, Thomas, (M.D.) ditto
 Montgomery, Hugh, ditto
 Munford, James, ditto
 Murphy, William, ditto
 M'Clancy, Robert, ditto
 Mulholland, Thomas, ditto
 Martin, William, ditto
 Mayne, S. Lower Bridge-st. Dublin
 Mills, Robert, Roper's Rest, county Dublin
 Milikin, Israel, Belfast
 Munster, P. L. ditto
 M'Calmont, Hugh, ditto
 Montgomery, James, Garvey, co. Tyrone
 M'Kinstry, Zach. county Armagh
 Maxwell, John, Rathlish, Portarlinton
 M'Mahon, Charles, Carrickmacross
 Moore, William, ditto
 Murray, John, Moorfield, Clonmel
 Murphy, Thomas, ditto
 Molloy, John, Rockfield, King's co.
 Meares, Thomas, Doughill, ditto
 Meares, Richard, Newtown Lodge, ditto

- Meares, George, Newtown Lodge, King's county
 Meares, Richard, ditto
 M'Cabe, Christopher John, Moate, county Westmeath
 Morris, Thomas, county Wicklow
 Mayberry, Duckett M. Greenlane, Kenmare, county Kerry
 Mayberry, John, jun. ditto
 Mitchell, Geo. Parsonstown, King's county
 M'Donnell, Lawrence, T.C.D.
 Moffat, William, Portadown, county Armagh
 Moon, George, Ballybay, county Monaghan
 M'Curdy, Samuel, Newtown Limavady, county Londonderry
 M'Mahon, Hugh, Ormond Market, Dublin
 Meade, John, Sch. T.C.D.
 Milner, Robert, William-st. Dublin
 Morton, Samuel, Little Island, Clonmel
 Mayne, James, Bridge-st. Dublin
 Maguire, H. Camden-street, ditto
 Mullins, Hon. Robert, Monivac, county Kerry
 Mullins, Hon. Edward, Dingle, do.
 Mullins, William Townsend, ditto
 Mullins, Thomas, ditto
 Mawe, Thomas, (M.D.) Tralee
 Millet, E. (M.D. J.P.) Cove, co. Cork
 Millet, Thomas, T.C.D.
 Montgomery, Francis, Carlow
 M'Namara, Dillon, York-st. Dublin
 Macnamara, William Nugent, co. Clare
 Meyler, John, Carlow
 Mawe, James Henry, Tralee
 Maguire, Peter, Peterfield, Cork
 M'Mullen, Joseph, ditto
 Montgomery, R.H. T.C.D.
 M'Craith, — High-st. Kilkenny
 M'Ferrar, James, county Down
 M'Gowan, John, Ballysallagh, co. Down
 Moffatt, Robert, Ballymullen, ditto
 M'Wha, Dupre, county Down
 M'Naghten, Thomas, Thomastown Park, county Roscommon
 M'Naghten, E.H. Thomastown Park, county Roscommon
 Mills, Joseph, Thurles, county Tipperary
 Montgomery, H. Blessingborough Cottage, (J.P.) Fermanagh and Tyrone
 M'Dowell, Charles, Howth, county Dublin
 Montgomery, Thomas, Aughnacloy, county Tyrone
 Moore, Richard, Bandon
 Maziere, R. Petersfield, Cork
 Morris, Thomas, county Wicklow
 M'Culloch, Alexander, Rathgill, co. Down
 M'Culloch, George, ditto
 M'Mahon, William, Bangor
 Maguire, James, ditto
 M'Blaine, William, ditto
 M'Cartney, James, ditto
 Martin, Robert, ditto
 M'Murray, Ross, ditto
 M'Connell, William, ditto
 M'Connell, John, ditto
 Martin, James, ditto
 Miskell, William, Ballyverron, co. Down
 Melvin, John, Bangor, ditto
 M'Feran, James, Crawfordsbourn, Bangor
 Marshall, Alexander, ditto
 M'Stockhart, John, ditto
 M'Dowell, Hugh, ditto
 Mitchell, Carney, ditto
 M'Millin, William, ditto
 M'Murray, John, ditto
 Martin, James, jun. ditto
 M'Mahon, David, ditto
 Martin, William, ditto
 M'Blain, George, ditto
- N
- Napier, Richard, Kingstown
 Newport, Simon, (knt.) High Sheriff of Waterford
 Ness, George, Great Britain-street, Dublin
 Norton, Thomas, Exchequer-street, ditto
 Norton, John Radley, Parnel-place, ditto
 Nowlan, Edward, Wicklow
 Newport, S. John's-hill, Waterford

- Newport, Samuel, Waterford
 Neville, Thomas, Annamult, county
 Kilkenny
 Nolan, John, (M.D.) Dublin
 Nixon, Henry, ditto
 Nesbitt, John, London
 Nesbitt, Cosby, Lismore, Cavan
 Nixon, Henry, Cloae House, county
 Kilkenny
 Nicholson, Joseph, Bessbrook, Ar-
 magh
 Nelson, William, Newry
 Naper, J. L. Loughcrew, Old Castle,
 county Westmeath
 Newport, William, New Park, Wa-
 terford
 Nicholson, R. James'-street, Dublin
 North, James, Lower Bridge-st. do.
 North, Thomas, ditto
 Napier, William, Belfast
 Napier, William, jun. ditto
 Nicholson, J. New Holland, Armagh
 Newell, George, Lismore
 Neville, J. (J.P.) Annamult, county
 Kilkenny
 Newbold, J. Thomas'-street, Dublin
 Nangle, Walter, Clonbercon, county
 Meath
 Neill, William, Bangor, co. Down
- O
- O'Brien, William, (Lieut.-Col.) co.
 Clare
 O'Brien, R. (Capt. R.N.) ditto
 O'Callaghan, George, Maryfort
 O'Connor, Henry, Mount Pleasant,
 Dublin
 Orr, William, Strabane, co. Tyrone
 Overard, John, Suffolk-st. Dublin
 Orr, Robert, Merchant's-quay, do.
 Ogle, William H. Nelson-street, do.
 Outterson, Andrew, county Dublin
 Outterson, Andrew, jun. ditto
 Outley, Edward, Ballyboden, ditto
 Outterson, James, ditto
 O'Keefe, Thomas, A.B.T.C.D.
 O'Keefe, Arthur J.
 O'Donoghue, John, A.B.T.C.D.
 O'Brien, Donogh, Upper Merrion-
 street, Dublin
 O'Callaghan, A. (clk.) Seville-place,
 Dublin
- O'Callaghan, William Edw. Wheat-
 field, county Dublin
 O'Callaghan, Andrew, Seville-place,
 Dublin
 Ottiwell, John R. Beresford-place,
 ditto
 Ogilvie, William, Ardglass, co. Down
 Osbrey, Thomas, Rathgar, county
 Dublin
 Outterson, John, Ballyboden, ditto
 Osborne, John, Cork
 O'Mally, Charles, (J.P.) Hawthorn-
 Lodge, Castlebar
 O'Mally, St. Clair, (J.P.) ditto
 O'Hara, James Arthur, Sligo
 Osbrey, John, Rathgar, co. Dublin
 Ogle, John, (Solicitor) Newry
 O'Neill, John, Fitzwilliam-square,
 Dublin
 O'Connor, H. Tralee
 Ogle, George, (Solicitor) Newry
 Ogle, Samuel, ditto
 Ogle, John, (J.P.) ditto
 O'Mally, Andrew C. (J.P.) New-
 castle, county Mayo
 O'Malley, Owen, Spencer Park,
 Castlebar
 Ogle, John, (Col.) Forkhill, county
 Armagh
 Ogle, Henry, ditto
 Osborn, Walter Richards, Cork
 Oliver, James, Enagh, county Ar-
 magh
 Oliver, Joseph, Tullymore, ditto
 Oliver, Benjamin, Killylean, ditto
 Orr, William, Belfast
 O'Reilly, John A. ditto
 Oldham, H. Newtownards
 Orr, Alexander, Belfast
 Orr, Alexander B. Commercial
 Buildings, Dublin
 O'Brien, J. Waterford
 O'Brien, James, Kilkenny
 Osborne, James, Belfast
 Ogle, John, (J.P.) county Armagh
 O'Brien, John, (M.D.) Dublin
 O'Meagher, Joseph, Bleakfield,
 Queen's county
 O'Meagher, Samuel, ditto
 Osborne, William, co. Wicklow
 O'Malley, George May, Prospect,
 Eyrecourt, county Galway
 Oliver, Thomas, Ashbourn, county
 Meath

Osborne, Richard Boyse, (J.P.) co. Kilkenny

P

Power, John, Kilfane, co. Kilkenny
Power, John, jun. ditto ditto
Powel, Caleb

Pim, James, Townsend-st. Dublin
Purdy, Richard, Dame-street, ditto
Pim, James, jun. Dame-street, ditto
Pim, Henry, City-quay, ditto
Pim, J. G. ditto ditto
Perry, Samuel, Woodroof, Clonmel
Patten, John, Sandymount, county Dublin

Power, Robert, Mountjoy Fort
Power, Robert, Whitechurch, county Waterford

Price, John R. Mountrath, Queen's county

Pim, George, Usher's Island, Dublin

Pay, John, North Anne-street, ditto
Plunket, Hon. John, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, ditto

Peck, Wm. Neptune Villa, Kingstown

Pemberton, Benjamin, Moore-street, Dublin

Perrin, Henry, Abbey-street, ditto

Perrin, John, Wicklow

Pomeroy, Henry, Dublin

Perry, Samuel, jun. Woodrooffe, co. Tipperary

Pickering, Thomas, Abbey-street, Dublin

Purdon, Peter, Ballyboden, county Dublin

Pool, William Mullinahack, ditto

Purser, John, James'-street, Dublin

Purser, John, jun. James'-gate, do.

Perry, James, Pill-lane, ditto

Page, Robert Luke, (M.D.) Dundalk

Plunket, Hon. W. (clk.) Bray

Price, George, N. Anne-st. Dublin

Plunket, Hon. David, Stephen's-green, ditto

Plunkett, Thomas, (clk.) Dromore, county Tyrone

Pullen, John, Thomas'-street, Dublin

Perrin, Lewis, Granby-row, ditto

Purdon, R. (M.D.) Tralee

Parke, Marlborough, Woodberry, Athlone

Pindon, Robert, Newry

Persse, Bunton, jun. Persse Lodge, county Galway

Persse, Dudley, Roxborough, ditto

Pickett, Henry, A.B. T.C.D.

Prentice, Alexander, jun. county Armagh

Prentice, Alexander, ditto

Perrie, William, Belfast

Patterson, Joseph, ditto

Pope, Richd. (Alderman) Waterford

Pope, A. R. Waterford

Parsons, Thomas, ditto

Prossor, Thomas, ditto

Pope, Henry, ditto

Palmer, P. ditto

Pope, William, ditto

Patten, George, ditto

Pope, Richard, ditto

Pope, Alexander, jun. Waterford

Pope, Josiah, ditto

Plunket, J. (Capt. late (S.A.S.) Grand Canal Harbour, Dublin

Pheepes, John, Capel-street, ditto

Palmer and Greville, Messrs. Mary-street, Dublin

Peebles, William, Usher's-quay, do.

Purser, John Edward, ditto do.

Pedder, Henry, Clonmel

Poole, Thomas, Ballyanchor, county Waterford

Pearce, Thomas, county Wicklow

Palmer, Joseph, Coombe, Dublin

Palmer, John, ditto ditto

Palmer, F. ditto ditto

Pomeroy, John James, (J.P.) Rathangan, county Kildare

Parks, John, Cork

Perrott, Thomas, Uplands, Cork

Perrott, Samuel, Fermoy, co. Cork

Perrott, John, jun. ditto ditto

Perrott, Samuel, Cloon Hill, ditto

Parker, Nicholas D. Cork

Poe, James, Parade, Kilkenny

Purdon, Rowan, (M.D.) Tralee

Patton, Thomas, Ballygroth, county Down

Patterson, Thomas, Moyrath, county Meath

Park, John, Coltown, Bangor, co. Down

Patterson, Robert, Bangor, co. Down
 Pollock, John, ditto
 Pollock, William, ditto
 Pollock, James, ditto
 Philips, Alexander, ditto
 Penrose, James, Woodhill, Cork
 Parker, Nicholas D. Bandon

Q

Quinn, Thomas, Ballyboden, county
 Dublin
 Quinn, Peter, Belfast
 Quinn, James, ditto

R

Roe, Robert, Dublin
 Roe, Henry, ditto
 Robinson, Richard, Parkgate-st. do.
 Rowan, Archibald Hamilton, Killy-
 leagh Castle, county Down
 Robinson, Samuel, National Market,
 Dublin
 Rogers, Adam, (Alderman) Water-
 ford
 Reade, Robert, Mary's Abbey, Dub-
 lin
 Roberts, Paul A. Gt. George's-street,
 ditto
 Rawlins, Thomas, Harcourt-st. ditto
 Robinson, George, Manor-street, do.
 Raper, Richard, county Meath
 Roe, Shephard, Serpentine Avenue,
 county Dublin
 Rumley, Thomas, Stephen's-green,
 Dublin
 Richards, John, Glenn, county Fer-
 managh
 Reynell, Richard, Killyron, county
 Westmeath
 Reynell, Edward, ditto ditto
 Richards, Thomas, L.L.B. T.C.D.
 Reed, John Hamilton, Linenhall-
 street, Dublin
 Reade, James, Liverpool
 Roche, Edw. Trabolgan, co. Cork
 Riall, William, Anneville, county
 Tipperary
 Roche, David, Carass, co. Limerick
 Roche, David, jun. ditto
 Roe, George, Fitzwilliam-st. Dublin

Ruthven, E. S. Oakley Park, Down-
 patrick
 Ruthven, C. Newbury Hall, county
 Kildare
 Richards, L. Van, (J. P.) Rathna-
 speck, Wexford
 Reilly, Thomas, St. Andrew-street,
 Dublin
 Russell, Matthew, Newry
 Richardson, Thomas, ditto
 Russell, John, ditto
 Russell, Matthew, jun. ditto
 Reid, John, ditto
 Risk, Eccles, Usher's-quay, Dublin
 Robinson, Moses, Waterford
 Rawlinson, Richard, Sir John Ro-
 gerson's-quay, Dublin
 Richards, Goddard Hewetson,
 Grange, Wexford
 Robinson, John, Tassagh, Armagh
 Riddle, John, Belfast
 Roberts, John, Collon, Belfast
 Ross, Thomas, ditto
 Riall, Arthur, Clonmel
 Roche, Matthew, county Wexford
 Roche, Stephen, ditto
 Rochford, John, Walkerstown, co.
 Dublin
 Regan, William, Rosscarberry, co.
 Cork
 Roche, Jeremiah, Passage, ditto
 Richards, William, Portadown, co.
 Armagh
 Ready, William, Westport, co. Mayo
 Rogers, George Pigott, Rosehill,
 Cork
 Rose, James, Hollywood, county
 Monaghan
 Rankin, George, Sackville-st. Dublin
 Ryan, Henry, Kilfera, Kilkenny
 Robertson, John, High-street, ditto
 Robinson, William, ditto
 Robb, Daniel, county Down
 Rockell, Elisha, Ashbourne, county
 Meath
 Robinson, Alexander, ditto
 Richards, John, Merrion-sq. Dublin
 Russell, Benjamin, Thurles, county
 Tipperary
 Russell, William, ditto
 Russell, Charles, ditto
 Russell, E. ditto
 Rickey, Hugh, Bangor, co. Down
 Richey, Allen, ditto

- Russell, James, Thurles, co. Tipperary
 Roger, Robert N. Bandon, co. Cork
 Richey, James, Bangor, co. Down
 Rea, David, ditto
 Richey, Alexander, ditto
- S
- Sinclair, James, Strabane, county Tyrone
 Stevelly, James, Croydon, county Dublin
 Smyth, David, Linen Hall, Dublin
 Scott, Thomas, (banker,) Waterford
 Scott, R. S. ditto
 Scottowe, Edmund, ditto
 Stamper, Thomas J. Belvedere-place, Dublin
 Sterne, Samuel, Belmont, county Dublin
 Stewart, Isaac, Bachelor's-walk, Dublin
 Stitt, John, Rathmines, co. Dublin
 Singleton, John, Quinville, co. Clare
 Singleton, John Blood, (67th regt.)
 Stephens, Edward, Roebuck, county Dublin
 Smyth, James Hugh, Sch. T.C.D.
 Sloane, Charles, Sackville-st. Dublin
 Sloane, Charles Alexander, ditto
 Smyth, William Meade, Drogheda
 Simpson, John, Francis-st. Dublin
 Smithson, Sandwith, Wellington-quay, ditto
 Sheill, Edward Cooke, General Post Office, Dublin
 Stokes, Gabriel, Dorset-street, do.
 Spencer, Joshua, Dominick-st. do.
 Stopford, Adam, Mullinahack, ditto
 Stopford, Elisha, ditto
 Sharpe, Charles, Aungier-street, do.
 Stephens, H. C. Bishop-street, do.
 Stephens, B. F. Rathmines
 Stephens, William, Trinity-street, Dublin
 Sadlier, Francis, D.D. S.F. T.C. D.
 Stewart, W. Creg, Fermoy, co. Cork
 Savage, Marmion W. Mecklenburg-street, Dublin
 Sloane, John, Summer-hill, ditto
 Stroker, William, Paternoster-row, London
- Smithson, Thomas, Lower Bridge-street, Dublin
 Smith, John, Kells
 Shaw, Zachariah, North Anne-st. Dublin
 Sinclair, Adam, Ballyboden, county Dublin
 Saunderson, Bassett, co. Cavan
 Stamper, John, Newtown Mount Kennedy, county Wicklow
 Smith, Thomas, (M.D.) Belmont, Kilgobbin, county Dublin
 Smith, Joseph, (J.P.) Mount Butler, Roscrea, Queen's county
 Seymour, J. county Roscommon
 Smith, Henry, Fermoy, co. Cork
 Scott, Henry, Clonmel
 Smith, James, Cross, Londonderry
 Smith, Brent, Clarendon-st. Dublin
 Stokes, John, Harcourt Lodge, Gd. Canal, county Dublin
 Smith, William Lynd, Lisdillen, co. Londonderry
 Square, John Foster, Waterford
 Skipton, Valentine, (J.P.) county Longford
 Sherlock, John, jun. New Ross, co. Wexford
 Stewart, John, ditto
 Surry, James, (civil engineer,) Tullamore
 Spence, James, Newry
 Sanderson, A. Ballyshannon, county Donegal
 Swansy, Thomas B. Newry
 Smyth, George, county Waterford
 Sheridan, Henry, county Mayo
 Sheridan, G. M. ditto
 Sprigg, Samuel, jun. Tramore, co. Waterford
 Sinclair, John, Belfast
 Stewart, Alexander, ditto
 Simms, William, ditto
 Steene, William, ditto
 Sinclair, Thomas, jun. ditto
 Simpson, Samuel D. Annmount, co. Armagh
 Simpson, Thomas, Birdhill, ditto
 Scott, Robert, Bradshaw, Belfast
 Simms, Robert, ditto
 Sloane, John E. ditto
 Stevelly, John, ditto
 Stephenson, Joseph, ditto
 Spence, Thomas, ditto

Stewart, John W. Waterford
 Sprigg, John, ditto
 Swaine, Joshua, Usher's-qu. Dublin
 Slater, George, Baggot-street, ditto
 Stephens, T. Trimbush, co. Dublin
 Staines, Henry, Abbey-st. Dublin
 Simpson, James, Aughnacloy
 Smithson, B., L. Bridge-st. Dublin
 Smithson, John, ditto ditto
 Scott, James, Omagh, co. Tyrone
 Sheridan, George, county Mayo
 Sterling, Walter Jay, (M.D.) Bur-
 ros-in-Ossory, Queen's co.
 Smyth, George, county Wexford
 Smyth, William, ditto
 Stoakes, Thomas, county Wicklow
 Smith, Richard, ditto
 Sleator, John, ditto
 Spear, Arthur, Clanbrasil-st. Dublin
 Smyth, Henry, Mounthemy, Port-
 arlington
 St. Laurence, E. (clk.) Archdeacon
 of Ross, county Cork
 Stowell, James L. Kilbrilland, ditto
 Skottowe, H. Carrick-on-Suir
 Smyth, William, Tullow, county
 Waterford
 Simpson, Samuel, Ardee, co. Louth
 Smyth, John, Turbuck, co. Mayo
 Smyth, James, ditto
 Smyth, William, ditto
 Smyth, Thomas, ditto
 Stawell, Charles, Kilbrittan, co. Cork
 Stroud, Thomas, Tallow, county
 Waterford
 Sinclair, J. Belfast
 Skipton, Val. (J.P.) Springfield, co.
 Longford
 Skilling, Thomas, Crawfordsbourne
 Village, county Down
 Shackleton, Ebenezer, Moone, co.
 Kildare
 Strangman, S. Thurles, county Tip-
 perary
 Shaw, John, ditto ditto
 Strangman, Joshua, ditto
 Shaw, Thomas ditto
 Smyth, Francis, Blessington-street,
 Dublin
 Sampson, Samuel D. Annmount, co.
 Armagh
 Simpson, Thomas, Birch-hill, ditto
 Syner, James, (Lieut. 6th Infantry,)
 Bandon, county Cork

Scott, Walter, Gortaglanna, co. Cork
 Scott, Hibernicus, Coolmain, ditto
 Smyth, James, Castlehill, co. Down
 Stewart, Hamilton, Bangor, ditto

T

Trench, William, Cangort. Park,
 King's county
 Turbet, Robert, Bachelor's-walk,
 Dublin
 Twigg, Paul, Great George's-st. do.
 Tighe, Daniel, Rosanna, co. Wicklow
 Tandy, Charles, (Solicitor) Water-
 ford
 Tandy, Francis, Mount Pleasant, Ra-
 nelagh
 Tuite, Hugh, Sonna, Mullingar, co.
 Westmeath
 Tighe, Robert J. Mitchelstown, co.
 Westmeath
 Tighe, Richard Sterne, ditto
 Thompson, James, High-st. Dublin
 Thompson, John, Leixlip
 Trench, Frederick Fitzwilliam, (clk.)
 Perpetual Curate of Cloughjor-
 dan
 Toone, F. Hastings, Ballincor, King's
 county
 Trench, Charles J. Sopwell Hall,
 county Tipperary
 Trench, James, Woodlawn, county
 Galway
 Trench, John, ditto
 Tuite, Samuel, Lower Gardiner-st.
 Dublin
 Thompson, Henry William, Stone-
 brook, county Kildare
 Taylor, John, Newbrook, co. Dublin
 Trench, Richard, Elm Lodge, Hants
 Tighe, William S. Woodstock, co.
 Kilkenny
 Turbet, James, Bachelor's-walk,
 Dublin
 Tonson, Hon. Charles L. Rathcor-
 muck
 Turnly, John, Rockport, co. Down
 Taylor, James, Newry
 Thangway, Thomas, Ballyshannon,
 county Donegal
 Trowton, Charles, Newry
 Todd, David, ditto
 Tredennick, T. Camolin, co. Donegal

- Tandy, Thomas, Johnsbrook, county Meath
 Thompson, Robert, Forkhill, county Armagh
 Tennison, Thomas, Castle Tennison, county Roscommon
 Thornton, R. J. Armagh
 Tennent, William, Belfast
 Tandy, James, Mount Pleasant, co. Dublin
 Thompson, Robert, Ravensdale, co. Armagh
 Thompson, James, Belfast
 Thompson, B. (M.D.) ditto
 Turner, William, ditto
 Tennent, Robert J. ditto
 Tennent, Robert, (M.D.) ditto
 Traile, Robert, Lurgan, co. Armagh
 Thompson, George, North Anne-street, Dublin
 Tennent, Robert James Wm. Belfast
 Thompson, John, Clonmel
 Taylor, Edwin, Clogheen
 Tapley, John, county Wicklow
 Thompson, William, Cork
 Twigg, Paul, Stafford-st. Dublin
 Thorogood, William, (coroner,) Balnadumna, county Meath

U—V

- Ulton, James, Limerick
 Uniacke, R. (Lieut.-Col.) Woodhill, Cork
 Vance, James, Cuffe-street, Dublin
 Vogan, James, Armagh
 Vance, Andrew, Bridge-st. Dublin
 Vance, George W. Bishop-st. do.
 Vance, John, Belfast

W

- Winter, John Pratt, Agher, county Meath
 Ward, Samuel, L.L.D. Dorset-st. Dublin
 Williams, Henry F. (clk.) Dublin
 Wallace, James, Waterford
 Walker, M. C. Leeson-st. Dublin
 White, James, Upper Sackville-st. ditto
 Willans, William, Bridge-street, do.

- Watson, Solomon, Sackville-street, Dublin
 Whitfield, Thos. Merchant's-quay, do.
 Whitcroft, John, county Dublin
 Warham, Thomas, jun. Grand Canal Harbour, Dublin
 Whitcroft, John H. jun. Merchant's quay, ditto
 Walsh, Edward, (M.D.) Summerhill, ditto
 Whiteside, James, T.C.D.
 Warham, Thomas, Grand Canal Harbour, Dublin
 Wade, Richard, Paddenstown, co. Meath
 Williams, J. D. Eustace-st. Dublin
 Weekes, William, (Alderman,) Waterford
 Watts, John, Fleet-street, Dublin
 Watts, William, Mecklenburgh-st. ditto
 Warbam, John, Grand Canal Harbour, ditto
 Williamson, Jonathan, Lakelands, county Dublin
 Ward, Right Hon. Robert, Bangor, county Down
 Winter, Samuel, Tullaghard, co. Meath
 Winter, Francis, (clk.) Agher, do.
 Walsh, James, (late Lieut.-Col.) Mohill, county Leitrim
 Woodcock, William, Enniscorthy, county Wexford
 Williams, Henry, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London—" *a visitor in Ireland, whose signature is the result of unprejudiced personal observation*"
 Watt, James, Ramelton, county Donegal
 Wentworth, William, Lower Bridge-street, Dublin
 West, John, Ballyboden, county Dublin
 West, Sterling, ditto ditto
 West, Matthew, ditto ditto
 Williams, William, Dominick-st. Dublin
 Walker, Thomas, Fermoy, co. Cork
 Wilson, James
 Watson, Launcelot, Dublin
 Wilson, John, Shamrock Lodge, Drogheda

- Wall, Henry, Elliot-place, Dublin
 Wall, Henry, jun. ditto ditto
 Wall, Edward, ditto ditto
 Williams, Vance, (M.D.) co. Longford
 Walker, Charles A. (J.P.) Belmont, county Wexford
 Walker, Thomas, jun. ditto
 West, Wm. J. G. Great Clonard, do.
 Whitney, Henry, New Ross, ditto
 Weld, Isaac, Ravenwell, co. Dublin
 Walker, Francis Spring, Belville, co. Limerick
 White, John, (J.P.) Armagh
 White, John, Newry
 Wilson, James, ditto
 Wilson, James, jun. ditto
 Wilson, John Richard, ditto
 Waters, George A. (M.D.) Tra-
 more, co. Waterford
 Waters, George A. jun. ditto
 Wheland, Joseph, Glenvale, Ar-
 magh
 Waugh, James, Cavanacan, ditto
 Wynne, Thomas, Lislea, co. Armagh
 Wilson, Thomas, Mountjoy-square,
 Dublin
 Williams, Josiah, Riverview, Water-
 ford
 Webber, James, ditto
 Walsh, Peter, Bellview, ditto
 Wilson, Thomas, ditto
 Woods, Simon, ditto
 Watkins, Richard, Ardee-st. Dublin
 Watkins, Joseph, ditto
 Wilson, John, Pill-lane, ditto
 Watson, Joshua E. Sallymount, co.
 Dublin
 Waddy, Cadwallader, Kilmacoe,
 Wexford
 Workman, Robert, Belfast
 Whittle, F. (J.P.) Castleupton, co.
 Antrim
 Webb, William, Belfast
 Waller, Thomas, ditto
 Williamson, Robert, (J.P.) Lambeg
 House, county Antrim
 Williamson, Alexander, ditto
 Wilkinson, Joseph, Barberstown
 White, David, (clk.) Belfast
 Woods, John, Carrickmacross
 Willis, Anthony, Gardiner-street,
 Dublin
 Walsh, Samuel, Piltown, co. Kil-
 kenny
 White, Edward, county Wicklow
 White, William, ditto
 Woods, Thos. Parsonstown, King's
 county
 Webb, Robert, Bloomfield, county
 Dublin
 Wilson, John, Castle Blayney, co.
 Monaghan
 Wilson, James, Burris, co. Carlow
 Wilson, Thomas B. Cork
 Watt, Charles Wm. Coolnamuck, do.
 Wilson, Thomas, Carrick-on-Suir
 Walsh, Peter, Bellisle, ditto
 Wright, John, ditto
 Walpole, James, Graig, county Kil-
 kenny
 Wilson, Richard, Upper James'-
 street, Dublin
 Wilson, Richard, jun. ditto
 Wilson, James Gibbon, ditto
 Wetherall, Joseph L. jun. Bellview,
 Killarney
 White, Patrick, Thurles, co. Tip-
 perary
 Wanston, William S. Bandon, co.
 Cork
 Wrixon, H.
 Ward, Hon. Wm. Robert, Bangor
 Castle, county Down
 Wilson, Hill, Bangor, ditto
 Ward, Edward Michael, ditto
 Wilson, Thomas, Kilcaskan, Ban-
 don, county Cork

Y

- Younge, Drelin-court, Bridge-street,
 Dublin
 Younge, J. H. James'-gate, Dublin
 Young, Joseph, Bangor, co. Down

Resolutions passed at the Rotunda Meeting, on Tuesday, 20th January, 1829, his Grace the Duke of Leinster in the Chair.

Moved by Alderman M'Kenny, seconded by Colonel Drought :—

That Henry Arabin, Esq., and the Rev. Edward Groves, be appointed Secretaries to the meeting.

Moved by the Hon. Robert King, M.P., seconded by John David Latouche, Esq. :—

That no portion of our fellow-subjects are more determined than we are, to maintain the principles which placed the House of Brunswick on the throne of these realms.

Moved by Lord Dunalley, seconded by Thomas Boyse of Bannow, Esq. :—

That those principles are founded upon the basis of civil and religious freedom.

Moved by the Earl of Bective, M.P., seconded by Sir John Newport, Bart., M.P. :—

That being personally interested in the condition, and sincerely anxious for the happiness of Ireland, we feel ourselves called on at the present alarming juncture, to declare our conviction, that the disqualifying laws affecting his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, which in earlier periods were considered essential to the maintenance of the Protestant constitution and religion, have, through the enlightened character of the times, ceased to be so, and may with safety to that constitution be repealed.

Moved by the Earl of Milltown, seconded by Lord Clements, M.P. :—

That from the progress of wealth, intelligence, and liberality, which so pre-eminently characterises the present age, the continuance of those disqualifying laws operates most injuriously as a bar to the cessation and oblivion of political discord, and to that union of sentiment and interest on which the internal peace and prosperity of a nation can alone permanently rest.

Moved by Hugh M. Tuite, Esq., M.P., seconded by J. L. Naper, of Logherew, Esq. :—

That with respect to Ireland in particular, we are of opinion that those disqualifying laws become a primary cause of disunion, by perpetuating those political discontents and religious animosities which distract the country, endanger the safety of all its institutions, and are alike destructive of social happiness and national prosperity.

Moved by Count Magauley, seconded by Edward Berwick, Esq. :—

That we are further of opinion, that unless the wisdom of the legislature shall apply an immediate remedy to those evils, they will in their progression assume, at an early period, a character which must necessarily augment the difficulties of their removal.

Moved by Charles Brownlow, Esq., M.P., seconded by Sir Thomas Charles Style, Bart. :—

That it is of paramount importance to the welfare of the empire at large, and more especially of Ireland, that the condition of this country should be taken into immediate consideration by parliament, with a view to

such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of our national institutions, and to the general satisfaction and concord of his Majesty's subjects.

Moved by the Earl of Howth, seconded by Thomas Lloyd, Esq., M.P. :—

That a petition to his Most Gracious Majesty, in the spirit of the foregoing resolutions, be forthwith prepared, assuring his Majesty of our most unalterable attachment to his throne and person, and praying that he may be pleased, with the least possible delay, to recommend to parliament to take into their most serious consideration the alarming and wretched state of this country.

The draft of a petition to the King having been read, it was moved by the Earl of Glengall, seconded by Dominick Browne, of Castlemacgarrett, Esq. :—

That the petition which has been prepared by the noblemen and gentlemen of the committee, and now read, be adopted by this meeting.

Moved by the Hon. Frederick Ponsonby, M.P., seconded by William Crawford, of Ferney, county Cork, Esq. :—

That this petition be presented to his Majesty by our noble chairman, accompanied by the following peers and members of parliament, viz. :—

Duke of Somerset

Devonshire

Marquess of Lansdowne

Downshire

Anglesey

Westmeath

Ormonde

Marquess of Clanricarde

Earl of Meath

Darnley

Wentworth Fitzwilliam

Ferrers

Kingston

Portarlington

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Earl of Wicklow | Sir Henry Parnell, Bart. M.P. |
| Leitrim | Hon. H. Caulfield, M.P. |
| Clare | Hon. George Ponsonby, M.P. |
| Gosford | Hon. Frederick Ponsonby, M.P. |
| Caledon | Charles Brownlow, M.P. |
| Glengall | Thomas Spring Rice, M.P. |
| Dunraven | Thomas Lloyd, M.P. |
| Viscount Goderich | Lucius O'Brien, M.P. |
| Ebrington | James Grattan, M.P. |
| Milton | Henry Grattan, M.P. |
| Ennismore | Hugh M. Tuite, M.P. |
| Clements | Henry V. Stuart, M.P. |
| Duncannon | Charles D. O. Jephson, M.P. |
| Lord Grenville | Alexander Dawson, M.P. |
| Dundas | Henry White, M.P. |
| Rossmore | Peter Van Homrigh, M.P. |
| Killeen | Arthur French, M.P. |
| Plunket | And such other noblemen and |
| Rt. Hon. Sir J. Newport, Bart. M.P. | members of the House of Com- |
| Right Hon. M. Fitzgerald, M.P. | mons as wish to attend. |

Moved by Thomas Wyse, of Waterford, Esq., seconded by the Hon. David Plunket:

That we most earnestly recommend the immediate attendance in parliament of all the peers and members representing Ireland, and that for the sake of our common country, as well as the empire at large, we trust that all party distinctions and jealousies will be buried in oblivion, so that Ireland may enjoy the benefit of their collective and calm consideration of her wants.

Moved by Lord Killeen, seconded by Charles D. O. Jephson, of Mallow, Esq., M.P. :—

That we adopt the sentiments contained in the Protestant declaration, signed by their Graces the Dukes of Leinster and Devonshire, and by seven marquesses, twenty-six earls, eleven viscounts, twenty-two barons, two counts, twenty-two baronets, fifty-two members of the House of Commons, and upwards of two thousand gentlemen of other ranks, all of whom are personally

interested in the condition of Ireland; and that our noble chairman be instructed to present to his Majesty, together with our petition, a copy of that declaration, with the signatures attached to it.

Petitions to both houses of parliament having been laid before the meeting, it was

Moved by Nicholas Philpot Leader, of Dromagh Castle, Esq., seconded by William Tighe, of Woodstock, Esq.:—

That the petitions now read, and which are founded on the resolutions of this meeting, be adopted, and presented to both houses of parliament:—that to the Lords by the Marquess of Anglesey, and that to the Commons by Charles Brownlow, Esq.

Moved by Lord Clanmorris, seconded by the Hon. Colonel Westenra:—

That his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Anglesey is entitled to and possesses our entire confidence; and we regret that circumstances have induced his Excellency to relinquish the government of this country; for that, relying upon his wisdom and justice, we do assure his Excellency, to adopt the language of a distinguished Englishman, "There is no nation of people under the sun that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves, so as they may have the protection and benefit of the law, when upon just cause they do desire it."

Moved by John Power, of Kilfane, Esq., seconded by Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart.:—

That the address to his Excellency the Marquess of

Anglesey, now read, be adopted by this meeting, and that our noble chairman be requested to transmit the same to his Excellency at his Grace's earliest convenience.

Moved by the Hon. Mr. Preston, seconded by Robert Roe, Esq.:—

That copies of these resolutions and petitions be forwarded to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, and the rest of his Majesty's ministers, calling their attention to the deplorable situation of this country, and requiring them to give peace, and above all, religious peace, to Ireland; which, by benefiting the state, will confer a benefit upon every individual in it.

Moved by Robert Challoner, of Coolatyn Park, Esq., seconded by Walter Berwick, Esq.:—

That the thanks of the country and of this meeting are eminently due, and are hereby given, to the noblemen and gentlemen who constituted the committee for the Protestant declaration, the dinner to Lord Morpeth, and the arrangements of this meeting, and we do earnestly request, that they will individually and collectively continue their exertions for the success of the great cause in which we are engaged—"the religious peace of Ireland;" and that the noblemen and gentlemen who have moved and seconded these resolutions be added to the committee.

LEINSTER, Chairman.

The Duke of Leinster having left the chair, and the Right Honourable the Earl of Milltown having been called thereto, it was

Moved by Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P., seconded by Richard Sheil, Esq. :—

That the thanks of the country, and more especially of this meeting, are pre-eminently due, and are hereby given, to his Grace the Duke of Leinster, the premier noble of Ireland, not only for his dignified and impartial conduct in the chair this day, but for his undeviating attachment and devotion to the true interests of Ireland.

MILLTOWN, Chairman.

EDWARD GROVES, }
HENRY ARABIN, } Secretaries.

Address to his Majesty, adopted at the Rotunda Meeting, on Tuesday, 20th January, 1829.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

The humble Petition of the Noblemen and Gentlemen undersigned.

May it please your Majesty,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects of the kingdom of Ireland, beg leave to approach your throne with assurances of our unalterable fidelity and attachment to your Majesty's royal person and government.

Reigning by the free voice of a proud and brave people, your Majesty holds the crown of these realms by the highest of all titles—the clearest of all legitimacies; we venerate you as the guardian of just laws, and the last perfection of a noble constitution. You rule in the interests of your people—your throne has

the best security for any throne, the enlightened confidence of your subjects.

No portion of your Majesty's loyal people are more truly devoted than we are to the principles which placed the illustrious House of Brunswick on the throne.

We conceive these principles to be founded on the basis of civil and religious freedom.

It is to the diffusion of these great gifts we attribute the gradual union, the industry, the wealth, the intelligence, the consequent prosperity, and the only permanent security, of any state. In proportion as the citizen derives advantages from the constitution under which he lives, he will naturally give back to the preservation of that constitution his zealous and persevering support.

Your Majesty was graciously pleased, on the memorable occasion on which you honoured these shores with your royal presence, to impress upon the mind of your faithful Irish subjects these important truths; and it is not without a deep recognition of their value, we still hold in our recollection the conciliatory terms of your Majesty's parting advice.

But with profound regret, we venture to represent to your Majesty, that little benefit has yet accrued to this distracted nation from your Majesty's paternal counsels. Instead of the cordiality and union which your Majesty had so emphatically recommended, the whole land is divided into two adverse parties, measuring each other's strength in silence, or menacing open and undisguised hostilities abroad—corrupting to evil all the sources of national good—disturbing in their course the beneficial

influences of the constitution—lending to justice the character of faction—irritating, by a succession of dangerous stimulants, the entire national temperament—embittering every variety of social intercourse, and shaking to the foundation that mutual confidence, without which all government is difficult, and the entire frame of civil society must ultimately be dissolved.

Industry, deprived of all its natural nourishment, languishes—commerce, uninvited by proportionate security, flies our shores—manufactures, unsupported by capital, have almost disappeared—employment, exclusively agricultural, is not adequate to the wants of our population; the surplus emigrates, in every shape of wretchedness, to the more prosperous parts of your Majesty's dominions, or passing on through a rapid succession of disasters at home, from idleness to want—from want to malady—perish, at last, in almost annual visitations of pestilence or famine.

The consequences of these evils are obvious and universal; they are commensurate with our entire system. The Protestant is not more exempt than the Catholic; but, on the contrary, in proportion to his superior wealth and station in the community, is, if possible, more exposed to their injurious effects. They embrace every individual in their influence, and they affect all the relations of every individual whom they embrace.

And your faithful and loyal subjects presume further to represent to your gracious Majesty, that the influence of these calamities is not restricted to Ireland alone; that such a state of things must require a large military establishment for its support; that this establishment

necessitates a corresponding taxation of the country; that the country, by the repression of its natural energies and resources, is unequal to this supply; and that thus this kingdom, instead of being a source of strength, is, by a singular anomaly in government, a source of weakness to the united empire.

Your petitioners would willingly believe that these evils were of a temporary nature, removable by temporary expedients; but they have reason to apprehend that, instead of diminishing, they will gradually increase, unless prevented, ere it be too late, by a patient and impartial inquiry into their causes, and the generous application of a full and final remedy to their cure. Their continuance will prepare for the first aggression of foreign foes a long-accumulating spirit of dissatisfaction in the country—it will invite the insult and injury of surrounding nations—it will paralyse the national forces of the state—it will detract from the moral strength and character which enabled England so long to hold the first rank in European civilization, and materially endanger, and perhaps ultimately compromise, the safety of the entire British empire.

Your petitioners cannot ascribe these evils to any defect in the moral or physical condition of the country itself; they are compelled to seek elsewhere for the fertile source of these calamities. They see, in the partial distribution of the burdens and rewards of the state, the exclusion of one part of the people from the franchises and rights enjoyed by the other, a just and enduring principle of discontent, further exasperated by religious animosity, the parent of that national disunion

from which every other national evil must necessarily proceed.

It does not, however, escape the attention of your humble petitioners, that this exclusion may originally have been intended for the better maintenance of the constitution and religion of the state; but they respectfully submit to the consideration of your Majesty whether, on the extinction of the causes which required such guarantee, these restrictions on the liberty of the subject should not also be repealed.

And it is the further conviction of your Majesty's humble petitioners that these causes have long since so disappeared—and this opinion is grounded on the policy of other states, in reference to this country—the cessation of all external menace or attack; the suppression of all pretensions to the throne of these realms, and the increasing liberality and enlightened feeling of every class and persuasion in the present times.

Your petitioners are therefore satisfied, that the removal of the disabilities under which their Catholic fellow-subjects still labour, so far from being attended with any peril to the institutions of these realms, would, on the contrary, by a removal of all just ground of complaint, most eminently tend to coalesce all sects and orders in the country, in united exertions for their common support; and thus, by "*benefiting the state, would confer a benefit upon every individual belonging to it.*"

And in this belief your petitioners are more fully confirmed, by the gracious message of your Majesty's royal Father to his Irish parliament in 1793, in which he was pleased to recommend such measures as might be

most likely to strengthen the general union and sentiment amongst all descriptions of his Majesty's subjects, in support of the established constitution; and in which his Majesty was further pleased to point out the relief of his Catholic subjects of Ireland, from the disqualifications by which they were affected, as the means best calculated to ensure this desirable result.

And your petitioners gratefully remember, that your Majesty has professed, on more than one occasion, towards your faithful people of Ireland, a favour and affection not inferior to that evinced by your royal Father. May we then implore your Majesty, graciously to interpose the noblest exercise of your royal prerogative in their behalf? may we implore you to allow the inhabitants of this distracted but generous country to dedicate their undivided energies—now exerted chiefly against each other—to the augmenting the resources, the ennobling the character, and elevating the glory and prosperity, of their native land? And may your Majesty be pleased, with the least possible delay, to recommend to your parliament to take into their most serious consideration, the alarming and wretched state of this portion of your Majesty's dominions, with a view to such final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the united kingdom, to the stability of our national institutions, and to the general concord of your Majesty's loyal subjects; so may your Majesty more fully reign in the hearts of a grateful people, and transmit your crown with additional lustre to posterity.

A petition to the Houses of Lords and Commons, conveying similar sentiments, &c. was also adopted by the meeting.

An address from the same petitioners to the Marquess of Anglesey was likewise proposed and adopted, declaratory of "those principles of civil and religious freedom which are the bond of their union, and were the guide of his Lordship's counsels," and which now induced them to join "the voice of a multitudinous people, uplifted to mourn an event, whose painful interest has been able (words of no light import) for a season to suspend the universal discordance, to unite all orders in one common sentiment of sorrow, and to show that the passions which have disturbed our judgments have not yet softened our hearts."

Marquess of Anglesey's Answer.

Uxbridge House, April 14th, 1829.

My Lord Duke—My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have received, with the highest gratification, the address with which you have been pleased to honour me, on my retirement from the government of Ireland.

When it reached me, the happy measure, which it was your object to promote, was already under the consideration of the legislature; and I, therefore, deferred offering my acknowledgments for your personal kindness to me, in the hope that I should soon be enabled to add to them, as I now most joyfully do, my sincere congratulations upon the accomplishment of the great good which you desired for your country.

To the parental solicitude of his Majesty for the general happiness of his people, to the sound counsel of his ministers, and, finally, to the liberality and wisdom of parliament, the empire is indebted for this glorious act of true policy, grace, and justice.

The whole British constitution is now, for the first time, extended to the whole people of Ireland. As they enjoy the same liberties, so may they derive the same benefits from it—the same peace, prosperity, and happiness, which it has so long conferred upon Great Britain.

To secure those blessings to Ireland, it is only necessary that her people act in the spirit which brought you so auspiciously together; and that they should continue to practise that forbearance and good-will towards each other, which distinguished their conduct through the whole of the late proceedings in Ireland, and which so mainly contributed to bring them the desired result.

Allow me, in conclusion, to assure you, that I shall ever feel the sincerest devotion to the interests of Ireland, and the deepest gratitude for all the kindness I have experienced from her.

I have the honour to be,

ANGLESEY.

To his Grace the Duke of Leinster, &c.

No. XXXII.

Formation of the Society of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty.

Royal Hotel, College Green, Dublin, Wednesday,
21st January, 1829—William Sharman Crawford,
Esquire, in the chair;

It was unanimously

Resolved, That in pursuance of the twentieth resolution, agreed to at the meeting of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, held yesterday, we recommend that a committee of forty persons, twenty Protestants and twenty Catholics, be now appointed, and be selected from the list of nobility and gentry of both persuasions, who concurred in those proceedings, for the purpose of considering the most effectual means for establishing a permanent junction of Catholics and Protestants, in order to insure a continuance of their exertions for the success of the cause in which we are all engaged, "the religious peace of Ireland."

Resolved, That the following noblemen and gentlemen, together with the chairman, be the members of the committee.

The Duke of Leinster
The Earl of Glengall
The Earl of Bective
Lord Cloncurry
Lord Riversdale
Lord Rossmore
Rt. Hon. Sir John Newport
Sir Charles Style, Bart.
Sir Charles Morgan
Hugh M. Tuite, Esq. M.P.
Charles Brownlow, Esq. M.P.

Charles D. O. Jephson, Esq. M.P.
William D. Napper, Esq.
Richard Napier, Esq.
James Sinclair, Esq.
John D. La Touche, Esq.
William Sharman Crawford, Esq.
Robert Roe, Esq.
George Grier, Esq.
W. W. Berwick, Esq.
John M. Marshall, Esq.
Lord Killeen

Lord Gormanstown
Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart.
Sir Richard Nagle, Bart.
Daniel O'Connell, Esq. M.P.
Richard Sheil, Esq.
Thomas Wyse, Esq.
William Sweetman, Esq.
Nicholas Mahon, Esq.
William Murphy, Esq.
Nicholas P. O'Gorman, Esq.

James O'Gorman Mahon, Esq.
Gerald Dease, Esq.
James John Bagott, Esq.
George Taffee, Esq.
Richard Moore O'Ferrall, Esq.
Michl. Francis Coppinger, Esq.
William Grainger, Esq.
John Maher, Esq.
Barthw. Corballis, Esq.

Moved by Lord Killeen, seconded by Earl Bective,
and

Resolved, That the Rev. Edward Groves be requested to give his most valuable services as secretary ; also,

That the committee do make a report on Saturday.

Adjourned at five o'clock.

Royal Hotel, College Green, Dublin, Thursday, 22nd
January, 1829—The Right Hon. Lord Rossmore in
the chair ;

Resolved, That no proceedings are to have publicity until they shall have received the sanction of the committee.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen be added to the committee,

Joseph Stone, Esq.
Richard P. Leader, Esq.
Edward Berwick, Esq.

Pierce Mahony, Esq.
Count Magawley
Dominick O'Reilly, Esq.

Resolved, That the committee do stand as at present constituted, without further addition.

Resolved, That the committee is of opinion, that for the sake of our common country, as well as of the empire at large, all party and sectarian distinctions and jealousies should be buried in oblivion, and that all persons

should be invited to advance and uphold the great cause of civil and religious freedom.

Resolved, That it is the universal sentiment of this meeting, that no member of the committee is or shall be deemed to be bound by any resolution or proceeding to which he does not personally assent.

Resolved, That no question be decided on its first mention, but that notice be inserted in the summons for a subsequent meeting that such a measure would be considered.

Resolved, That it is expressly understood, that the proceedings of this committee are to have no publicity, farther than what may be sanctioned by a resolution of the committee.

Resolved, That our secretary be requested to write to the absent noblemen and gentlemen named on the committee, enclosing a copy of the resolution passed yesterday, and intimating the names of those noblemen and gentlemen who have signified their consent to act, and to beg that they will intimate with as little delay as possible their concurrence.

Resolved, That the secretary be requested to call a meeting of the committee appointed on the 20th instant by the 19th resolution, and to report to them that we have consented to take their commission into consideration, and that we recommend them to proceed in the mean time to provide for the financial and other details necessary to the furtherance of the great end of their assembling.

Resolved, That this committee adjourn from day to day at one o'clock till further notice.

ROSSMORE.

Friday, 23rd January, 1829—The Right Hon. Lord Rossmore in the chair ;

The minutes of the last meeting having been read, it was

Resolved, That it is our opinion that a society should be formed, to be called “ The Society of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty of all religious Denominations,” for the sole purpose of promoting the principles contained in the resolutions of the late meeting at the Rotunda ; and that our secretary be requested to communicate the present resolution to the noblemen and gentlemen who have signed the Protestant Declaration and the requisition for the said meeting, and to others, in order to ascertain as speedily as possible their concurrence to the same.

Moved by Thos. Wyse, Esq.

Seconded by T. L. Naper, Esq.

Resolved, That this committee do take immediate steps to convene the friends of civil and religious freedom in London, before the discussion of the great question of Catholic emancipation in Parliament.

Moved by P. Mahony, Esq.

Seconded by John Latouche, Esq.

Resolved, That this committee do adjourn till Wednesday the fourth day of February next, on its rising.

Moved by Sir Charles Morgan.

Seconded by Barth. Corballis, Esq.

Resolved, That the following noblemen and gentlemen do form a sub-committee, for the purpose of con-

vening the meeting in London, with power to add to the number.

The Duke of Leinster
 Earl of Darnley
 Lord Dunally
 Sir John Newport, Bart.
 James Grattan, Esq.
 Henry Grattan, Esq.

Charles Brownlow, Esq.
 C. D. Jephson, Esq.
 T. S. Rice, Esq.
 Arthur French, Esq.
 Sir Henry Parnell, Bart.
 Pierce Mahony, Esq.

Moved by P. Mahony, Esq.

Seconded by J. D. Latouche, Esq.

Resolved, That the first resolution passed this day be published in all the Dublin papers.

Moved by D. O'Connell, Esq.

Seconded by T. L. Naper, Esq.

ROSSMORE.

No. XXXIII.

CATHOLIC RENT.

Details of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1826.

| | County of | |
|----|-----------------|------------|
| 1 | Antrim . . . | £138 5 9 |
| 2 | Armagh . . . | 113 6 3 |
| 3 | Cork . . . | 2824 13 10 |
| 4 | Clare . . . | 428 10 2 |
| 5 | Carlow . . . | 239 9 5 |
| 6 | Cavan . . . | 792 0 0 |
| 7 | Donegal . . . | 76 2 9 |
| 8 | Down . . . | 240 8 1½ |
| 9 | Dublin . . . | 1952 19 5 |
| 10 | Meath . . . | 604 14 5½ |
| 11 | Fermanagh . . . | 72 17 8 |
| 12 | Galway . . . | 635 15 7 |

APPENDIX.

ccclxxi

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|---------|----|-----|
| 13 | Kerry . . . | £381 | 15 | 7½ |
| 14 | Kildare . . . | 567 | 4 | 10½ |
| 15 | Kilkenny . . . | 749 | 19 | 10 |
| 16 | King's . . . | 549 | 3 | 3½ |
| 17 | Leitrim . . . | 148 | 2 | 9 |
| 18 | Louth . . . | 689 | 2 | 8½ |
| 19 | Limerick . . . | 548 | 8 | 11 |
| 20 | Longford . . . | 168 | 7 | 1 |
| 21 | Londonderry . . . | 144 | 2 | 0 |
| 22 | Monaghan . . . | 194 | 15 | 10 |
| 23 | Mayo . . . | 293 | 6 | 0½ |
| 24 | Queen's . . . | 257 | 0 | 5½ |
| 25 | Roscommon . . . | 166 | 7 | 0 |
| 26 | Sligo . . . | 164 | 14 | 3½ |
| 27 | Tipperary . . . | 1648 | 7 | 6½ |
| 28 | Tyrone . . . | 65 | 10 | 7 |
| 29 | Westmeath . . . | 526 | 19 | 9 |
| 30 | Wicklow . . . | 174 | 14 | 7 |
| 31 | Wexford . . . | 504 | 1 | 0 |
| 32 | Waterford . . . | 738 | 11 | 4½ |
| | | <hr/> | | |
| | | £16,895 | 18 | 11½ |
| Subscriptions . . . | | 2,224 | 4 | 5 |
| Interest on government se- | | | | |
| curities . . . | | 144 | 0 | 0 |
| | | <hr/> | | |
| | | £19,228 | 3 | 4½ |
| Paid sundry expenses from | | | | |
| Dec. 31, 1824, to March | | | | |
| 18, 1825 . . . | | 4,331 | 11 | 6½ |
| | | <hr/> | | |
| Total, | | £14,896 | 11 | 10 |
| | | <hr/> | | |

DR. CATHOLIC FUND.

| | | |
|-----------|------------------------------|-------------|
| 1825. | | |
| March 18. | To sundry payments made | |
| | to during this period, up to | |
| Dec. 16. | change of currency | £1,049 17 9 |

BRITISH.

| | | |
|----------|--|--------------|
| 1826. | £1049: 17: 9 Irish, at $8\frac{1}{2}$ is | £969 2 0 |
| Jan. 22. | To sundry payments made | 215 2 3 |
| | Balance in treasurer's hands | 21 6 11 |
| | £16,150 government stock, | |
| | security for repayment of | 13,000 0 0 |
| | | £14,205 11 8 |

CR. CATHOLIC FUND.

| | | |
|-----------|--|---------------|
| 1825. | By securities and cash on | |
| March 18. | hand this day | £14,896 11 10 |
| | By interest on several securities from July 7 to | |
| | Dec. 3 | 236 5 0 |
| | By balance do. per Mr. | |
| | Hayes | 38 17 7 |
| | | £15,171 14 5 |

BRITISH.

| | | |
|----------|---------------------------|--------------|
| 1826. | Exchange at Par is | £14,004 13 3 |
| Jan. 13. | By interest on government | |
| | stock to this day | 200 18 5 |
| | | £14,205 11 8 |

*Summary of Catholic Rent for the years 1825,
1826, 1827, 1828, 1829.*

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-------|---------|------|
| Rent received | | | |
| to March 1825 | . | £16,212 | 11 4 |
| Dec. 1826 | . . . | 6,261 | 9 9 |
| Dec. 1827 | . . . | 3,066 | 15 7 |
| Dec. 1828 | . . . | 21,424 | 19 1 |
| Feb. 1829 | . . . | 5,300 | 0 0 |
| | | <hr/> | |
| | | 52,265 | 15 9 |
| Interests and receipts at | | | |
| door of Corn Exchange | | 2,617 | 5 0 |
| | | <hr/> | |
| | | 54,883 | 0 9 |
| | | <hr/> | |

CATHOLIC RENT FROM AMERICA.

Since the dissolution of the Association, the following letter has been received from America:—

To the Catholic Association of Ireland.

Patriots, Friends, and Brothers,

The undersigned have been appointed a special committee by “The Association of the Friends of Ireland in Charleston,” to transmit to “the Catholic Association of Ireland” an address accompanying their first remittance of one thousand dollars, for which they have purchased a bill of exchange, drawn by Magwood, Patterson, and Co., of this city, upon I. O. Johnson, of Liverpool, and made payable in London, to the order of Daniel O’Connell, or Nicholas Purcell O’Gorman, and which is herewith remitted.

The Irish Catholic Association, and the Roman Catholic people of Ireland, have long since been in possession of the proceedings of a public meeting held in this city on the 22nd of last September, and have doubtless received the address which the Hon. John Gadsden, the intendant of our city, and president of that meeting, has transmitted in duplicate. The Association of the Friends of Ireland in this city was formed subsequently to that meeting, and adopted for its regulation a constitution, a copy of which we beg leave to send you, for the purpose of better exhibiting its object and our organization; you will also find attached a form of our certificates, together with a list of our members, and of our benefactors.

It might be proper to inform you, that on those lists are to be found the names of several of our most distinguished fellow-citizens, natives of this State, as well as of many emigrants from your own lovely island, and from several of the other civilised nations of the world. The modes of religion professed by our associates are equally various as the regions which gave birth to themselves. We have in our body the descendants of the ancient patriarchs of Judea, who still follow the Levitical rites, as well as brethren who differ in their preference of the ancient mode of Christianity. They all sympathise with you, and desire to relieve you, not for any partiality to the peculiar tenets of your faith, but because of their great love for the principle of liberty of conscience, and freedom of worship to every child of Adam, which principle they behold glaringly violated in your case; and to the spirit of which principle,

great and glorious as it is, they find you warmly and devotedly attached. Receive their mites, therefore, rather as evidences of their affection for men of sound principle, than as the measure by which they estimate your deserts.

They perceive that you have judiciously used the means already entrusted to your care, in enlightening the ignorant, in protecting the oppressed, in restraining petty despotism, in vindicating and asserting the right of extended suffrage, in guarding against the establishment of an influence which would stretch the power of the executive over the liberties of the people, beyond those limits which the ancient and pure constitution of Great Britain had provided ; and hence they rejoice at the prospect of your receiving additional funds from your friends at this side of the Atlantic—the friends of Ireland, the friends of rational liberty, the friends of the meritorious, though oppressed ; they are cheered by the emission of new rays, which promise increasing splendour to your hopes from this hemisphere.

They have been seriously gratified at witnessing your exertions to preserve peace and to promote conciliation amongst Irishmen ; they have prayed for your success, and been grateful to God for having blessed your efforts ; and thankful to the Irish people for having obediently followed the advice of you their best friends. May this spirit continue amongst you and them ! Your strength is to be found in union ; your victory will be achieved by moderation ; your opponents will be vanquished only by your firmness, your patience, and your forbearance. The constitution of your country furnishes the only means

which you can at present wield with a prospect of success.

We do trust that the misguided men, who from various motives oppose the justice of your claims, and disturb the peace of your country, will be brought to better sentiments; and that, if no other principle can operate upon them, the sense of shame, which must arise from the well-merited reproach of the civilised world, will cause them to desist, and will drive them from endeavouring to impede the progress of justice and of peace, of affection, and of national prosperity.

Such acknowledgments as you may think proper to make to our body, or to any of its members, after a consideration of the contents of our packet, will be received in the spirit of cordial esteem and of fraternal affection.

With the most sincere regard for your patriotic body, and the most anxious desire for your success in achieving the emancipation of the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, and affectionate and zealous co-operation amongst men of all religious denominations for the welfare of your "Emerald Isle,"

We have the honour to be, your sincere friends,

JOHN, Bishop of Charleston, Chairman.

ALEXANDER BLACK.

CHARLES RIVERS CARROLL.

K. BOYCE.

JOHN MAGRATH.

Charleston (S. C.), January 1, 1829.

Association Room. Friends of Ireland in Charleston,
South Carolina.

No. XXXIV.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FRAMING PETITIONS
TO PARLIAMENT.

(Circular.)

Corn Exchange, Dublin, January 1, 1829.

Reverend Sir,

It is deemed of vital importance to the Catholic cause, that petitions should be presented in the ensuing session of parliament from *every parish in Ireland*. To facilitate the attainment of this great end, it has been considered expedient to furnish you with the annexed models of petitions, from which you may select one that appears to you most suitable. These models are not transmitted with the view of dictating to any individual, or set of men, but merely saving them trouble. It is not deemed necessary, that any of these models should be selected by you, or at the meeting at which you may preside. All may be rejected—and when this can be done with convenience, it is decidedly the better course; sentences may be taken from each—corrections or alterations may be made in them—passages may be introduced, and passages omitted—in short, any thing may be done with these models, which may be thought desirable; and the Association only entreat, that at all events *some* form of petition may be adopted in each parish throughout Ireland.

Heretofore the usage has been to send forward only one petition from every union of parishes: it is deemed of great importance that there should be a departure from this course in the present instance, and that when there are three parishes united, there should be three petitions (each form being different) instead of one petition.

The Association deem it of the greatest importance that the business of preparing petitions should proceed *forthwith*. They respectfully recommend, that as soon as may be convenient after the receipt of this document, notice should be given in each chapel, that a meeting for the adoption of a petition will be held after last mass on a given day. In the mean time yourself and the churchwardens (if churchwardens have been appointed in your parish, and if they have not, you are entreated to take measures to nominate them), or other parishioners, may confer as to the form, amongst the models, which may appear to you or to them fittest to be copied.

To some clerk, or scrivener, or schoolmaster, this form should be given, without delay, to be by him copied on a large sheet of paper, or any sized sheet of paper that will contain the words—the heading should invariably be, “To the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in this present Parliament assembled—The Humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of the Parish of —, in the County of —, Humbly Sheweth, That, &c.” or when the petition is intended for the House of Lords, it should be, “To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the present Parliament assembled—Petition,

&c. Humbly Sheweth." Care should always be taken to have some signatures on the sheet containing the form of words of the petition, otherwise it will not be received by the House. The greatest exertions should be made to obtain a number of signatures. Every person in the chapel, or in the parish, who can write, should be called upon to subscribe his name.

The most effective mode of procuring signatures is to place a table, with pen and ink, at each chapel door, and to apprise each congregation of the circumstance from the altar. Another mode is to appoint some person to take the ruled sheets about from house to house.

Petitions may be sent forward to the respective county or other members from each parish, and through the post-office, the ends being left open like a newspaper, and "Parliamentary Petition" written on the cover. Petitions may also be forwarded to the Secretary to the Catholic Association, Corn Exchange, Dublin. It would be desirable, in order to avoid the expense of carriage, to send them by private hand; they should never be sent through the post-office when that can be avoided, or otherwise than as a coach parcel. When they are sent directly to the individual requested to present them, a letter should be written to the Secretary to the Catholic Association, mentioning the fact of their having been forwarded, and mentioning also, the name of the member selected to present them, the day on which they were forwarded, and especially the number of signatures each petition contained.

It should be observed, that when the signatures are numerous, and the petition consists of many sheets, all the sheets should be pasted together. It is deemed expedient again to point attention to the necessity of some signatures being written upon the sheet containing the prayer of the petition.

The models will furnish aid as well in the drawing up of resolutions as the framing petitions. Resolutions themselves may be turned into petitions, by the changing of the word "Resolved," into "That." In instances in which there are no persons to write or compose resolutions, and in which it may be thought desirable to save time or trouble, no other resolution need be entered into than one declaring that the form of petition selected from the models be adopted as that of the parishioners in each case.

It is deemed essential, that each petition should have reference to any local grievance, which the inhabitants in any parish suffering such grievance may think it useful to point out to the attention of the legislature. It is also deemed of the utmost importance, that each petition should end with a prayer, that relief may be granted to his Majesty's Catholic subjects in Ireland, without qualifications, conditions, or what are termed "securities," of any kind or denomination, or with any infringement or invasion of popular rights.

The Association respectfully direct your attention to the fact, that the models include three distinct classes of petitions—one for emancipation generally—one for the repeal of the Subletting act, and one for the repeal of the Vestry act. A form from each of these classes,

or any original petition on each of these subjects, should be passed at every meeting. The trouble attending one will be nearly the same as that attending three; but the great importance of three being passed at the same meeting will be manifest, when it is recollected, that if there be only seven hundred meetings convened (the number supposed to have been assembled last year), there will be above two thousand petitions produced, or as many as will furnish between twenty and thirty petitions for presentation, during each night of the sitting of parliament, throughout the entire session. Every person who signs one petition should sign the three, and should sign a copy, as well for the Lords as the Commons.

It is respectfully submitted, that in the general petition some clause or sentence should be introduced, declaratory of the public feeling on the all-important subject of national education.

In conclusion, the Association deem it right to repeat, that these models are sent merely to save time and trouble, and that in all instances in which original petitions can be conveniently drawn up, they should be preferred to any of the models.

Your most obedient servant,

EDWARD DWYER,

Secretary to the Catholic Association.

XXXV.

CATHOLIC ELIGIBILITY.

Offices, &c. from which Roman Catholics were formally or virtually excluded.

It is necessary to bear in mind the proportions of the Irish population, which may be fairly estimated as follows :—

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Catholics | 7,000,000 |
| Protestants and Dissenters of all descriptions | 1,100,000 |

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

Offices from which Catholics are excluded by Law in Ireland.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Peers of Parliament | 28 |
| Lord Chancellor | 1 |
| Judges of superior Law Courts | 12 |
| Master of the Rolls | 1 |
| Masters in Chancery | 4 |
| Judge of the Admiralty | 1 |
| Governors of Counties | 73 |
| Custodes Rotulorum | 32 |
| Members of Privy Council | 63 |
| Sergeants at Law | 3 |
| Attorney and Solicitor-General | 2 |
| King's Counsel | 42 |
| Sheriffs | 48 |
| Sub-Sheriffs | 38 |
| Officers of Corporations, about | 400 |
| Total | <hr/> 748 |

*Offices to which Catholics are eligible by Law in
Ireland.*

| | Number of Offices. | Catho- lics. |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------|
| In Chancery | 73 | 0 |
| Insolvent Court | 10 | 1 |
| King's Bench | 28 | 3 |
| Common Pleas | 32 | 1 |
| Exchequer | 56 | 2 |
| Exchequer Chamber | 13 | 0 |
| Revenue Appeals | 4 | 0 |
| Admiralty | 10 | 0 |
| Taxing Officers of Law Courts | 2 | 0 |
| Civil Bill Court | 2 | 0 |
| City of Dublin Record Court | 4 | 0 |
| County of Dublin Sessions | 2 | 0 |
| Dublin, inferior Courts | 19 | 0 |
| Registry Office for Deeds | 4 | 0 |
| Benchers | 48 | 1 |
| Assistant Barristers of Counties | 32 | 2 |
| Clerks of the Peace | 39 | 0 |
| Clerks of the Crown | 12 | 0 |
| Crown Solicitors | 8 | 0 |
| Crown Circuit Court, say | 20 | 1 |
| Court of Delegates | 1 | 0 |
| Court of Prerogative | 19 | 0 |
| Metropolitan and Consistorial Courts | 100 | 1 |
| Office of Charitable Donations | 3 | 0 |
| Ouzel Galley Society | 36 | 1 |
| Valuation Commissioners | 4 | 0 |
| Police Magistrates of Dublin | 18 | 0 |
| Association for Improvement of Prisons | 47 | 0 |

| | Number of offices. | Catho- lics. |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Richmond Bridewell (exclusive of Chaplains) | 8 | 0 |
| Richmond General Penitentiary (exclusive of Chaplains) | 8 | 0 |
| Smithfield Penitentiary (exclusive of Chap- lains) | 6 | 0 |
| Officers of Towns and Corporations, say | 100 | 0 |
| Inspectors-General of Prisons | 2 | 0 |
| Jailers, Local Inspectors, and other Officers of County Prisons | 151 | 6 |
| Chief Magistrates of Police for Ireland | 4 | 0 |
| Chief Constables of Police, say | 350 | 20 |
| Officer under Tithe Corporation Act | 1 | 0 |
| Total | 1314 | 39 |
| Add number excluded by Law | 748 | — |
| Total, Officers connected with the adminis- tration of Justice in Ireland | 2062 | |
| Total, Protestants filling such offices | 2023 | |
| Total, Catholics filling such offices | | 39 |
| Total, Catholics filling such offices, excepting Police Chief Constables | | 19 |

To these should be added the long and most important list of Justices of the Peace, and Grand and Petit Jurors, and the army of Constables, in which, could they be procured, the same proportions would be found to exist; as the persons whose right it is to appoint to those offices, almost uniformly act upon the same spirit of exclusion and intolerance as that from which their own nomination emanated.

*Offices of Civil Rank, or of Honour, from which
Catholics are excluded by Law in Ireland.*

| | |
|--|-------|
| Lord Lieutenant | 1 |
| Chief Secretary | 1 |
| Peers of Parliament | 28 |
| Members of the House of Commons | 100 |
| Lord Chancellor | 1 |
| Keeper of the Privy Seal | 1 |
| Vice-Treasurer | 1 |
| Teller of the Exchequer | 1 |
| Auditor-General | 1 |
| Governors of Counties | 73 |
| Custodes Rotulorum | 32 |
| Secretary to Lord Lieutenant | 1 |
| Members of Privy Council | 63 |
| Attorney-General | 1 |
| Postmasters-General | 2 |
| Sheriffs | 48 |
| Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin | 25 |
| Officers of Corporations | 400 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 780 |

It is right to observe, that some of the above are included in the list of persons connected with the administration of justice.

Offices of Civil or Military Rank, or of Honour ; or connected with Trade, Manufactures, Education, Charitable Institutions, &c. to which Catholics are eligible in Ireland, as well those under the direct appointment or control of the Crown, as others connected with Societies or Institutions supported, in the whole or in part, out of the Public Funds.

| | Number of Offices. | Catho- lics. |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Household of Marquess Wellesley | 28 | 3 |
| State Officers, &c. &c. | 90 | 1 |
| Knights of St. Patrick | 19 | 1 |
| Officers of the Order | 9 | 0 |
| Officers for Auditing Public Accounts | 21 | 1 |
| Law-Inquiry Commission | 6 | 0 |
| Commissioners for Issue of Money, and their Officers | 21 | 1 |
| Do. for Assistance of Trade and Manufac- tures | 10 | 1 |
| Do. for Fisheries | 52 | 7 |
| Do. for Inland Navigation, and Roads and Bridges | 14 | 0 |
| Royal Canal Control | 5 | 0 |
| First-Fruits | 11 | 0 |
| Charitable Donations | 3 | 0 |
| Education Commissioners and Officers of the Board | 10 | 0 |
| Paving Corporation | 18 | 1 |
| Commissioners of Fountains | 5 | 0 |
| Do. of Wide Streets and Offices | 26 | 0 |
| Trustees of the Royal Exchange and Officers | 16 | 0 |

| | Number of offices. | Catho- lics. |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Dublin Police | 18 | 0 |
| Corporation for preserving the Port of Dub- lin and Officers | 31 | 1 |
| Commissioners of Kingstown Harbour | 13 | 0 |
| Bank of Ireland, Directors and Chief Officers | 33 | 0 |
| College of Physicians | 37 | 1 |
| Local Army and Navy Surgeons | 4 | 0 |
| Oculist | 1 | 0 |
| Officers of Treasury | 29 | 0 |
| Do. Customs | 151 | 7 |
| Do. Excise | 161 | 10 |
| Do. Stamps | 42 | 1 |
| Do. General Post-Office | 53 | 0 |
| Trustees of the Linen Manufacture | 72 | 0 |
| Officers of Linen Board | 57 | 2 |
| Treasurers of Counties | 39 | 0 |
| Secretaries of Grand Juries | 38 | 1 |
| Commercial Buildings Company | 20 | 1 |
| Apothecaries' Hall | 19 | 0 |
| Commissioners of Education Inquiry and Officers | 7 | 1 |
| General Board of Health | 14 | 0 |
| Commissioners and Officers of Lunatic Asy- lum | 10 | 0 |
| St. Patrick's Hospital | 14 | 0 |
| Richmond Lunatic Asylum | 24 | 1 |
| House of Industry | 31 | 1 |
| Stevens's Hospital | 23 | 0 |
| Mercers' Hospital | 25 | 0 |

| | Number of offices. | Catho- lics. |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Hospital for Incurables | 33 | 0 |
| Lying-In Hospital | 50 | 0 |
| Meath Hospital | 37 | 3 |
| Simpson's Hospital | 22 | 0 |
| Westmoreland Lock Hospital | 14 | 1 |
| Fever Hospital | 36 | 5 |
| Dun's Hospital (for Instruction of Medical Students) | 17 | 0 |
| Dublin General Dispensary | 15 | 3 |
| Sick Poor Institution | 10 | 2 |
| Maison de Santé | 8 | 2 |
| Cow-Pock Institution | 7 | 0 |
| National Eye Infirmary | 8 | 0 |
| Whitworth Hospital | 24 | 0 |
| Dispensary of St. Thomas' Parish | 7 | 1 |
| Do. St. Mary's Do. | 7 | 1 |
| Institution for Cure of Diseases of Children | 12 | 0 |
| Magdalene Asylum | 55 | 0 |
| Lock Penitentiary | 11 | 0 |
| Dublin Female Do. | 4 | 0 |
| Richmond National Institution | 18 | 0 |
| Molineux Asylum | 18 | 0 |
| Female House of Refuge | 3 | 0 |
| Sick and Indigent Room-keeper's Society | 2 | 1 |
| Old Men's Asylum | 13 | 0 |
| Mendicity Society | 82 | 11 |
| Society of Education of Deaf and Dumb | 74 | 1 |
| Meath Charitable Loan | 18 | 0 |
| The Charitable Loan | 8 | 0 |

| | Number of Offices. | Cath- lics. |
|---|-----------------------|----------------|
| Society for Sheltering Females Discharged | 8 | 0 |
| St Peter's Parish Savings Bank | 14 | 0 |
| Dublin Library Society | 26 | 15 |
| Officers thereof | 3 | 0 |
| Dublin Institution | 2 | 0 |
| Royal Irish Institution for promoting Fine Arts | 34 | 1 |
| Royal Hibernian Academy of Painting, &c. | 14 | 0 |
| Farming Society of Ireland | 26 | 0 |
| Royal Dublin Society for improving Hus- bandry and other useful Arts | 29 | 2 |
| Royal Irish Academy for promoting Science | 33 | 0 |
| Officers of Military Department | 100 | 2 |
| Army Agents | 5 | 0 |
| Militia Staff Officers | 228 | 6 |
| Brigade Majors of Yeomanry | 10 | 0 |
| Commissariat | 10 | 0 |
| Army Medical Department | 9 | 1 |
| State Surgeons | 9 | 2 |
| Military Account Office | 23 | 2 |
| Ordnance, Civil Branch | 81 | 4 |
| Barrack-Masters | 91 | 4 |
| Hibernian Society for the Care of Soldiers' Children | 47 | 0 |
| Hibernian Marine Society for the Care of Soldiers' Children | 50 | 0 |
| Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, for old Soldiers | 29 | 1 |
| General Military Hospital | 3 | 1 |
| Kildare Place Society, for Education of the Poor of Ireland | 43 | 3 |

| | Number of Offices. | Catho- lics. |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Foundling Hospital | 42 | 0 |
| Dublin Weekly and Daily Schools, without religious distinction | 23 | 0 |
| Sunday and Daily Schools, without religious distinction | 5 | 0 |
| Freemason Female Orphan House | 9 | 0 |
| Female Orphan House | 8 | 0 |
| Charitable Infirmary | 27 | 16 |
| Schools and Charities of Erasmus Smith | 37 | 0 |
| Association for Discountenancing Vice | 12 | 0 |

No. XXXVI.

DISSOLUTION OF THE CATHOLIC ASSO- CIATION, AND OF THE SOCIETY OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

At a meeting of the Association, held at the Corn
Exchange, Dublin, on Thursday, the 12th February,
1829,

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE, Bart. in the Chair;

It was resolved, 1st, That the Catholic Association
do, at its rising this day, stand totally dissolved.

2nd, That in dissolving the Association, we think it
our duty to protest against any law which may have the
effect of abridging the rights of the subject, and for
which our voluntary dispersion has left no plausible
pretext.

3rd, That in coming to this determination, we do not
either directly or impliedly acknowledge that there is

any foundation whatever for the charges against a body, which has uniformly inculcated an obedience to the laws, and endeavoured to effect the pacification of the country ; but that we are influenced by a disposition to yield to the advice of our parliamentary friends, by a solicitude to mitigate prejudice, and above all by an anxiety to take away every ground for insisting that we are throwing obstacles in the way of that final and conciliatory measure of justice, which we trust is in progress for our complete, unqualified, and unconditional relief.

These resolutions were followed by a strong protest against any interference with the forty-shilling freeholders, or the discipline of the Catholic church of Ireland ; and votes of thanks were passed to the Marquess of Anglesey ; their Protestant fellow-countrymen who assisted them in their struggle ; to the Catholic clergy of Ireland ; to Richard Sheil, Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, John Lawless, Lord Killeen, Edward Dwyer, and Eneas M'Donnell, for their successful and strenuous exertions in the Catholic cause ; and finally it was resolved,

That as the last act of this body on the point of dissolution, we do declare, that we are indebted to Daniel O'Connell, beyond all other men, for its original creation and sustainment ; and that he is entitled, for the achievement of its freedom, to the everlasting gratitude of Ireland.

N. B. The successful issue of the object of this meeting was mainly to be attributed to the powerful efforts of Mr. Sheil. Letters were also read at the meeting from Mr. O'Connell (then in London) disap-

proving of the dissolution ; from Mr. Eneas M'Donnell, Mr. M. Fitzgerald, and Mr. Wyse, jun. (then at Torquay, Devon) advising in the strongest manner the dissolution of the body.

Letter from Mr. O'Connell.

Mr. Maurice O'Connell read the following Letter, which was ordered to be inserted on the minutes :—

Shrewsbury, 8th February, 1829.

My dear Friend,

I can add nothing to your stock of *facts*. I have not, and indeed could not possibly have had, any communication from London, and I write principally to express *my anxiety* during the present crisis of our affairs.

One thing is certain, and most consolatory, namely, that some measure of emancipation appears inevitable. The admission attributed to Mr. Peel, that it had become necessary to extend civil privileges, is decisive that something must be done for us. Who created that necessity? The honest, constitutional, and truly loyal exertions of the Catholic Association of Ireland. How fortunate it was that our resolution to dissolve the Catholic Association (in the event of a bill for unconditional emancipation) passed before the issuing of the ministers' denunciation of that body! I suppose there is not one single individual in the Association disposed to do any act which could be construed as pleading guilty in any, even the remotest degree, to the false charges brought against us by the ministry. How noble and how consistent is the conduct of that wise and excellent man, Lord Anglesey, in all his conduct since he first landed

in Ireland! You have seen the testimony he bore to the rectitude of our motives. He does, indeed, deserve the eternal gratitude of Ireland.

I trust that the most strenuous efforts will be made to continue the universal collection of the Catholic Rent, until we see the hour of our political dissolution approach. There is no use in any other scheme to attain emancipation than that by which we have arrived thus far, by *constitutional agitation*. The ministry have not the slightest necessity to pass any law to stab the constitution in order to reach the Association—not the slightest—that is, if they mean fairly by Ireland. If, indeed, they intend not to ameliorate the condition of our country, nor to produce religious peace, but merely to exchange one species of servitude for another, then, indeed, there is a distant object for which the minister will be disposed to annihilate our present constitutional privileges. At this moment, I do not understand the meaning of that most preposterous proceeding of suppressing an association, which “they tell us” they are otherwise about to kill with kindness.

My earnest advice (which I offer with the most respectful deference) is to pause before any one act is done on our part to recognise the guilt with which we are so unjustly charged. The Association should not, in my humble judgment, be dissolved by any act of ours before emancipation, complete and unconditional. If the constitution is to be trampled under foot, let it be the act of our enemies.

I have not the least idea of what are to be the ministerial terms of emancipation. The expression itself is an unhappy one. I will not anticipate; but this I will

say, that every attempt to interfere with the elective franchise should be met by a petition from every parish in Ireland to reject any bill of emancipation, no matter how extensive, if accompanied by any such interference.

We never were placed in so critical a situation. There never was a moment in which it was so necessary to be vigilant, but temperate. Temperate, because there is much to cheer—vigilant, because there is reason to apprehend *delusion* or *contrivance*. I speak as delicately as I can; but this one truth should never be forgotten—that *Ireland never yet confided but she was betrayed*. Vigilant let us be—cautious let us be; and whilst we prepare the public mind for the total cessation of religious feuds, and cultivate the good opinion of every liberal and honest Protestant, let us recollect that we are debtors to constitutional liberty, and must not do any act which could injure the rights or liberties of any human being. Of course we must never consent or submit to any kind of interference with our religious concerns.

I conclude this hasty letter with reminding the Association, “*that Ireland never yet confided but she was betrayed.*”

I will write again as soon as I can give any accurate information. You certainly shall have a letter from me for the meeting of Thursday. In the mean time vigilance should be alive, and the people should distinctly understand that any species of violence would inevitably destroy our now brightened prospects.

Believe me to be, yours very faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Edward Dwyer, Esq.

The Secretary read the following Letter :—

London, February 6, 1829.

My dear Sir,

Having given the best consideration to the proceedings of yesterday, and the suggestions of many of our most esteemed friends, and taken into account the declaration of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, as to the intended measure of relief, I cannot any longer hesitate in recommending that the Association should mark its sense of the obligations due to his Majesty ; and, in respect towards the Sovereign, display its readiness to meet the royal will by an immediate adjournment for two or three months ; so as to remove all plausible obstacles that our enemies may ground on an alleged disregard on our part of the wishes of his Majesty.

I should have taken this course yesterday, were I not anxious to avoid any recommendation that could be construed into a compromise of character ; but I think that the speech of Lord Anglesey has removed every difficulty on this head, and that it would be a waste of your labours and anxieties were you to raise any by battles on the topic.

I should, however, suggest the propriety of your closing your labours for the present with a resolution of a vindictory character, firm but temperate ; and a cordial and affectionate address to your Protestant fellow-subjects, urging oblivion of the past, and a general national offering of an undivided people to their Sovereign.

If my views should be acted upon, promptitude is most essential to the attainment of their object.

I cannot close without again urging promptitude in your action, should you approve my views.

I entreat of you to write in course, and daily. By adopting the course I suggest, you will enable the minister to come, at once, to the consideration of the measure of emancipation, which I consider most desirable for many reasons.

Very truly yours,

ENEAS M'DONNELL.

Edward Dwyer, Esq.

Mr. Maurice O'Connell read the following Letter :—

London, 6th February, 1829.

My dear Sir,

The policy is now decidedly for the Catholic Association to *dissolve*, before they can be caught. This would disappoint their enemies, materially aid their friends, and contribute to a temperate and more favourable discussion on the main question.

I seldom write to give advice, but I think that if you can at all induce them to this course, the impression here will be most favourable. They are to get the substance of their claims, and their best line would now be that which will best conciliate their many opponents, and effect the most good-humoured settlement of the matter. They are bound to give this sort of assistance to the Duke, who has fought the noble fight for them—the difficulties and dangers of which they have been and are very little aware of.

Yours affectionately,

M. FITZGERALD.

J. D. Latouche, Esq.

The Secretary read the following Letter, which was ordered to be inserted on the minutes :—

February 6th, 1829, Torquay, Devon.

Dear Sir,

I have just read his Majesty's speech. The great event—the desired of our forefathers—for which they and their descendants have now toiled for more than half a century—is about to take place. The regeneration of Ireland is approaching. In a few weeks we shall no longer form two distinct people. The Catholic and Protestant will rise into Irishmen. We shall have at last a country to glory in.

In such a moment of general exultation, it is of more than ordinary importance that we should conduct ourselves with that good sense and dignity which are befitting the post and bearing of a delivered nation. We have suffered much in a righteous cause, and owe our redemption not less to our own untameable spirit than to the favourable circumstances which have lately awarded it. Let us look about, and meet the Sovereign and the legislature, *pari passu*, with the steady manliness and cordial gratitude which become us. Let us march with them side by side. There is no need of prostration and servility on our side ; neither is there for indecent and debasing triumph on the other.

The Association is to be suppressed ; but his Majesty's most gracious recommendation, the simple promise of justice, has already virtually suppressed it. The Association arose out of popular grievance—out of popular complaint. It was the expression, not the substance—the effect, not the cause. The people had it in their

hearts long before it took shape and voice—upon their tongues, and in their deeds. The besieged and the besiegers was the precise relation in which the two great divisions of the country stood in reference to each other. The Catholic suffered—the Protestant enjoyed. The Association was one of the instruments which the sufferers put forward to obtain an equality with the enjoyers. That equality is promised—that promise will soon be carried into effect. The half emancipation of 1793 will be perfected by the entire and coming emancipation of 1829. The *end* is now on the point of being achieved—of what use, any longer, are the *means*?

What then is to be done? That which a wise, a generous, and I may even add, a proud people ought to do. Throw aside what is now useless—throw it aside immediately—throw it aside yourselves—outstrip generosity by generosity—prove by deeds your boasted sincerity—show how you can trample on all paltry jealousies, and let your first act be evidence that you are already prepared to sit down with your compeers in the constitution as coequal freemen, as true compeers.

This will be done, in my mind, most effectively, by convening a full meeting of the Association the moment his Majesty's speech shall be received. Could I have the fortune of being present at such a meeting, I should venture to propose the following resolution, or some other to the same or similar effect:—

“ Resolved—That, inasmuch as the Catholic Association of Ireland was originally instituted for the sole purpose of obtaining the full restitution of our just rights, and for that purpose only has continued to de-

liberate and act up to the present moment; and, inasmuch as such restitution has been now recommended by his most gracious Majesty to his present parliament, we do now consider the existence of such a body no longer necessary, and that, deeply impressed with its services, which we commit with confidence to the adjudgment of posterity, we solemnly declare its dissolution advisable, and that hereby such dissolution has actually taken place."

There may be a few, perhaps, to whom such a proposition may appear objectionable; but I beg them to consider whether the present is not a period when mutual sacrifice is both noble and necessary. Should the people stand back when the government has come half way?

The true secret will thus have been discovered to effect that which defied the utmost ingenuity of legislative enactment. It will be a glorious precedent in our free history; a lesson of wisdom to be read to our children, that one word of justice is worth a thousand penal statutes, and that no government is stronger than that which finds its support in the affections and gratitude of a happy people.

At the same time I am not one of those, I beg it to be understood, who, though their fetters are loosened, can altogether forget the slave. I call for no unseemly rejoicing, no idle homage for tardy justice. Let our thanks be like those of the Dissenters, brief, just, and emphatic. We now receive what for seventy years we have been contending for. It is the well-won reward of patient and persevering effort. We owe much to his

Majesty's ministers—more to the events and the intelligence of the day—but most of all, to ourselves. Let us receive, then, the restitution of *our own—erect*. No Catholic who receives it otherwise deserves to receive it at all. We are freemen who have been captives, and not manumitted slaves. Neither should we evince the miserable rejoicings of a triumphant faction. Our opponents will, soon enough, without any lesson from us, be glad to grow wiser, and have their enmity and themselves forgotten. In all this, temper and moderation are quite as essential and glorious as in the midst of our adversity—so shall Europe, which is at this moment intently gazing upon the lightest of our movements, admit that we have fully deserved our redemption. I trust we have been restored to the rights of freemen, and not conciliated with the base boons which are sometimes flung to unruly but uniting slaves.

I beg you will communicate the above with as little delay as possible to the Association, and give it an early insertion with their other proceedings.

I am, dear Sir, with much respect,

Your humble Servant,

THOMAS WYSE, Jun.

Edward Dwyer, Esq.

*Dissolution of the Society of Civil and
Religious Freedom.*

At a meeting of the committee of the Friends of Civil and Religious Freedom, appointed to devise the best means of promoting a permanent union of the Pro-

testants and Catholics of Ireland, for the attainment of their common object, the "religious peace of Ireland," and held at the Royal Hotel, College-green, Dublin, on Friday, 13th February, 1829,

JOHN DAVID LA TOUCHE, Esq. in the chair—

Moved by Sir Richard Nagle, Bart., seconded by Sir T. Charles Morgan, and

Unanimously resolved, That his Majesty having graciously recommended to parliament to take such measures as will restore tranquillity to his people, and his Majesty's ministers having, in accordance thereto, pledged themselves to introduce a measure for the removal of the civil disabilities of the Roman Catholics of the empire, we feel that we shall best express our gratitude, and show our confidence in the legislature, by discontinuing the meetings of this committee, whose great object now appears so near the happiest consummation.

Moved by James Sinclair, Esq., seconded by Sir Thomas Charles Style, Bart., and

Unanimously resolved, That this committee, at its rising, do dissolve.

Moved by Walter Berwick, Esq., seconded by Nicholas P. Leader, Esq., and

Unanimously resolved, That the conduct of our Catholic fellow-countrymen, on the present occasion, merits our warmest approbation; and we particularly feel, that the generous confidence in the promises of government, which they have shown by the dissolution of their Association, demonstrates that they are men

deserving of freedom, and secures to them the good wishes and cordial affection of their Protestant countrymen; and should circumstances, which we are far from anticipating, require our mutual co-operation, we feel that they have bound us to their cause, and that we are pledged to their support.

Moved by Bartholomew Corballis, Esq., seconded by Nicholas P. Leader, Esq., and

Unanimously resolved, That the strongest expressions of thanks of this committee are due, and are hereby given, for the eminent services of our Secretaries, the Rev. Edward Groves and Henry Arabin, Esq.

JOHN D. LATOUCHE, Chairman.

EDWARD GROVES, }

HENRY ARABIN, } Secretaries.

No. XXXVII.

MEETING TO PREVENT ILLUMINATIONS IN DUBLIN.

At a numerous meeting of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, held this day, at No. 12, Burgh-quay,

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE, Bart. in the Chair,

It was moved by Wm. Francis Finn, Esq., seconded by Michael Dillon Bellew, Esq.:

That we regard not as a triumph over any class of our fellow-subjects, but as a measure of strict justice

and of sound policy, removing the badge of inferiority from the Catholic, without encroaching upon the rights or privileges of the Protestant—destroying invidious distinctions and unjust preferences, which poisoned the intercourse of social life, and sapped the foundation of public prosperity—that we prize this measure chiefly because it puts an end to every pretext for discord and dissention between the inhabitants of our common country, and the subjects of our common Sovereign, and leaves us leisure to combine the virtuous energies of the entire community in a general effort to maintain its honour, and to promote its prosperity.

Moved by David Lynch, Esq., seconded by James Dwyer, Esq.:

That while those opinions have been long familiar to the minds of the Roman Catholics of this country, and their numerous, highly gifted, and distinguished supporters of every other religious persuasion, we cannot forget that there is a portion of our fellow-countrymen whose sentiments are of an opposite character. We would, therefore, strongly recommend to our fellow-citizens to abstain from any demonstrations of triumph, such as bonfires, illuminations, &c. which, not emanating from the constituted authorities, might compromise the public peace, or by possibility give offence to men whose opinions, however erroneous, are in some instances the result of honest conviction.

Moved by Richard Sheil, Esq., seconded by Arthur Guinness, Esq.:

That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Morning and Evening papers, and that handbills and

placards be distributed and posted up in the most conspicuous parts of the city.

Moved by Wm. F. Finn, Esq., seconded by P. M. Murphy, Esq.:

That Sir Thomas Esmonde do leave the chair, and that Arthur Guinness, Esq. do take the same.

Moved by James Dwyer, Esq., seconded by David Lynch, Esq.:

That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart., for his dignified conduct in the chair.

ARTHUR GUINNESS, Chairman.

JOHN MURPHY, Secretary.

14th April, 1829.

No. XXXVIII.

WELLINGTON TESTIMONIAL MEETING.

Resolutions unanimously agreed upon at a Public Meeting, convened by Advertisement, and held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, on Wednesday, the 6th May, 1829.

On the motion of the Duke of Leinster, seconded by Lord Stourton,

It was resolved, That the Earl Fitzwilliam do take the chair.

The EARL FITZWILLIAM in the chair.

On the motion of the Duke of Leinster, seconded by Lord Stourton,

It was resolved, That Peirce Mahony, Esq. be appointed secretary to this meeting.

On the motion of the Duke of Leinster, seconded by Lord Stourton,

It was resolved, That we feel it to be our duty to express our gratitude to his Majesty for his gracious assent given to the bill for the Relief of the Protestant Dissenters in the last session of parliament, and for his generous recommendation, at the opening of this session, that a full participation of civil rights should be granted to his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, in conformity with his Majesty's royal constitutional declaration—"That his power was held for the benefit of his people."

On the motion of the Marquess of Downshire, seconded by Lord Dundas,

It was resolved, That an address congratulating his Majesty on the success of his gracious recommendation to parliament for the relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, which was adopted by both houses with unexampled majorities, be now prepared.

On the motion of Lord Clifford, seconded by Lord Dunally,

It was resolved, That the address to our gracious Sovereign now read be adopted; and that our noble chairman do sign the same in our behalf; and that he be requested either to present or transmit the same, according to his Majesty's pleasure.

On the motion of Lord Stafford, seconded by the Rev. Mr. Courtney,

It was resolved, That we also feel it our duty sincerely to congratulate all classes and parties in this great empire on the happy adjustment of questions, so long

sources of discord and weakness to the state; and we do hope that, as their several prejudices can no longer distract the attention of our fellow-citizens, the empire will henceforward enjoy the benefit of their united exertions, without distinction of sect or party, in its support.

On the motion of the Earl of Darnley, seconded by the Hon. G. A. Ellis, M.P.

It was resolved, That to his Grace the Duke of Wellington national gratitude is eminently due for accomplishing, as prime minister (under our gracious Sovereign), the invaluable work of "religious peace."

On the motion of the Earl of Bective, M.P., seconded by the Hon. Valentine Jerningham,

It was resolved, That our sincere acknowledgments and thanks are likewise especially due, and are hereby given, to the Right Hon. Robert Peel (secretary of state for the home department), and to the rest of his Majesty's ministers, for their support of these great measures.

On the motion of John Lawless, Esq. seconded by Henry Hunt, Esq.

It was resolved, That the gratitude of this meeting (representing as it does the feelings of the Irish people) is hereby given to the Most Noble the Marquess of Anglesey, for his impartial administration in Ireland, and that we feel it a duty we owe to that distinguished soldier to acknowledge, that to his ardent sensibility to the grievances of Ireland, and to his zealous remonstrances on behalf of the Irish nation, the splendid results now enjoyed are greatly to be attributed.

On the motion of Thomas Moore, Esq., seconded by James Corry, Esq.

It was resolved, That we must ever bear in mind how much the great cause of religious freedom owes to the many illustrious persons, both living and dead, who have lent their powerful aid to its advancement.

On the motion of James Grattan, Esq., M.P., seconded by F. S. Flood, Esq.

It was resolved, That, in order to perpetuate to the remotest generations these feelings of just acknowledgment, and at the same time to record—that religious freedom was won by the same great captain who restored national independence to Europe, and gave security to this empire—a voluntary subscription be now entered into for the purpose of erecting, in or near Dublin, a statue of his Grace the Duke of Wellington, commemorative of this the most glorious of his public services.

On the motion of O’Gorman Mahon, Esq., seconded by Thomas Wyse, Jun. Esq.

It was resolved, That our committee be hereby empowered to record on the pedestal of the statue just voted, the names of those illustrious men, as well the dead as the living, who, in either house of parliament, have at different periods supported the measure of Catholic emancipation which has now passed into a law, under the benignant auspices of his Majesty.

On the motion of Lieut. Gen. Thornton, seconded by the Hon. Frederick Ponsonby, M.P.

It was resolved, That our committee be empowered to receive subscriptions, and that they be requested to open accounts for that purpose with such of the principal

banks of the united kingdom as are willing to co-operate with them.

On the motion of James Corry, Esq., seconded by Lord Dunally,

It was resolved, That copies of the foregoing resolutions be forwarded to—

The Duke of Wellington, the First Lord of the Treasury,

Right Hon. Henry Goulburn, the Chancellor of the Exchequer,

Lord Lyndhurst, the Lord Chancellor of England,

Earl Bathurst, President of the Council,

Right Hon. Robert Peel,

Earl of Aberdeen,

Right. Hon. Sir G. Murray,

} Secretaries of State,

Viscount Melville, the First Lord of the Admiralty,

Right Hon. J. C. Herries, the Master of the Mint,

Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control,

Right Hon. W. V. Fitzgerald, the President of the Board of Trade,—and also to

The Marquess of Anglesey.

On the motion of Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P., seconded by the Rev. Dr. Wade,

It was resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are eminently due, and are hereby given, to the noblemen and gentlemen who signed the Irish Protestant Declaration, and who, as friends of Ireland as well as of civil and religious freedom, took part in the meeting at the Rotunda in Dublin, on the 20th of January last; and we do congratulate them, collectively and individually,

on the successful termination of their exertions, which so eminently contributed to carry the great measure by which religious peace has been given to this empire, and more especially to Ireland.

On the motion of the Rev. Michael Keating, seconded by John Wright, Esq.

It was resolved, That the following noblemen and gentlemen do constitute a committee (with liberty to add to their numbers), in order to carry the foregoing resolutions into effect :

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, | Lord Nugent, M. P. |
| His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, | Lord Riversdale, |
| His Grace the Duke of Leinster, | Lord Cloncurry, |
| The Marquess of Downshire, | Lord Rossmore, |
| Earl Fitzwilliam, | Lord Dunally, |
| Earl of Cork and Orrery, | Lord A. Hill, M. P. |
| Earl of Darnley, | Right Hon. Lord Francis L. Gower, |
| Earl of Besborough, | M. P. |
| Earl of Shannon, | Honourable John Boyle, M. P. |
| Earl of Miltown, | Honourable A. Cavendish Bradshaw, |
| Earl of Kingston, | Honourable George Dawson Damer, |
| Earl of Portarlington, | Honourable G. Agar Ellis, M. P. |
| Earl of Clare, | Honourable R. Fitzgibbon, M. P. |
| Earl of Leitrim, | Honourable W. Booth Grey, |
| Earl of Gosford, | Honourable Robert King, M. P. |
| Earl of Blessington, | Honourable Edward Petre, |
| Earl of Glengall, | Honourable and Reverend John |
| Earl of Llandaff, | Pomeroy, |
| Earl of Darlington, M. P. | Honourable William Ponsonby, M. P. |
| Earl of Bective, M. P. | Right Hon. Sir George F. Hill, |
| Lord John Russell, M. P. | Bart. M. P. |
| Lord William Fitzgerald, M. P. | Right Hon. Sir John Newport, Bart. |
| Viscount Lismore, | M. P. |
| Viscount Templetown, | Right Hon. M. Fitzgerald, Knt. of |
| Viscount Morpeth, M. P. | Kerry, M. P. |
| Viscount Killeen, | Reverend Sir Francis Lynch Blosse, |
| Viscount Forbes, M. P. | Bart. |
| Viscount Duncannon, M. P. | Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. M. P. |
| Viscount Acheson, | Sir Charles Coote, Bart. M. P. |
| Viscount Bingham, M. P. | Sir Thomas B. Lethbridge, Bart. |
| Viscount Ennismore, M. P. | M. P. |
| Lord Stourton, | General Sir George Nugent, Bart. |
| Lord Clifford, | M. P. |
| Lord Foley, | Sir James C. Anderson, Bart. |
| Lord Alvanley, | Otway Cave, Esq. M. P. |
| Lord Dundas, | George Robert Dawson, Esq. M. P. |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Thomas Duncombe, Esq. M.P. | James Corry, Esq. |
| John Easthope, Esq. M.P. | William Henry Curran, Esq. |
| James Grattan, Esq. M.P. | Stephen Dickson, Esq. |
| John Cam Hobhouse, Esq. M.P. | James Dwyer, Esq. |
| Joseph Hume, Esq. M.P. | Lieut.-Colonel De Lacy Evans, |
| John Hely Hutchinson, Esq. M.P. | Frederick Solly Flood, Esq. |
| C. D. O. Jephson, Esq. M.P. | John Howley, Esq. |
| Ralph Leycester, Esq. M.P. | John David Latouche, Esq. |
| Thomas Lloyd, Esq. M. P. | John Lawless, Esq. |
| Daniel O'Connell, Esq. M. P. | A. H. Lynch, Esq. |
| Michael George Prendergast, Esq. | Cornelius Lyne, Esq. |
| M. P. | Thomas M'Kenny, Esq. Alderman, |
| Thomas Spring Rice, Esq. M. P. | O'Gorman Mahon, Esq. |
| Henry Villiers Stuart, Esq. M. P. | Peirce Mahony, Esq. |
| R. Wagon Talbot, Esq. M. P. | David Mahony, Esq. |
| Robert La Touche, Esq. M. P. | Richard Morrisson, Esq. |
| H. M. Tuite, Esq. M. P. | William Morrisson, Esq. |
| Judge Day, | Thomas Moore, Esq. |
| Admiral Donnelly, | Pierce Nagle, Esq. |
| Reverend Francis Sadler, D.D. and | Maurice O'Connell, Esq. |
| S.F.T. C.D. | A. C. O'Dwyer, Esq. |
| Reverend A. S. Wade, D.D. Vicar | Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, Esq. |
| of St. Nicholas, Warwick, | John Power, Esq. of Kilfane, |
| Reverend Michael Keating, | Richard Sheil, Esq. |
| Henry Arabin, Esq. | Charles Stanley, Esq. |
| W. H. Arabin, Esq. | Edward Sterling, Esq. |
| A. R. Blake, Esq. | Stephen Woulfe, Esq. |
| Edward Blount, Esq. | John Wright, Esq. |
| William H. Bourne, Esq. | Thomas Wyse, Esq. |

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM,
Chairman.

Earl Fitzwilliam having left the chair, and the Duke of Leinster having been called thereto, it was, on the motion of Lord Stourton, seconded by Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting are especially due, and are hereby given, to the Earl Fitzwilliam, for his dignified and impartial conduct in the chair this day, and for his uniform zeal in support of the principle of civil and religious freedom.

LEINSTER, Chairman.
PEIRCE MAHONY, Sec.

After which the following Subscriptions were
announced.

| | £. | s. | | £. | s. |
|-----------------------------|-----|----|-----------------------------|----|----|
| Earl Fitzwilliam | 200 | 0 | James Grattan, Esq. M.P. | 25 | 0 |
| Duke of Devonshire | 100 | 0 | Ralph Leycester, Esq. M.P. | 20 | 0 |
| Duke of Leinster | 100 | 0 | Daniel O'Connell, Esq. | | |
| Marquess of Downshire ... | 100 | 0 | M.P. | 10 | 10 |
| Marquess of Anglesey | 100 | 0 | Joseph Hume, Esq. M.P.. | 5 | 0 |
| Earl Darnley | 50 | 0 | Rev. Dr. Wade | 2 | 2 |
| Earl Bective | 25 | 0 | Rev. M. Keating | 10 | 0 |
| Earl of Glengall | 25 | 0 | Rev. J. Courtney | 5 | 0 |
| Lord Viscount Templetown | 50 | 0 | Lieut.-Gen. Thornton | 3 | 3 |
| Lord Viscount Northland.. | 25 | 0 | Lieut.-Colonel De Lacy | | |
| Lord Viscount Killeen | 20 | 0 | Evans | 5 | 0 |
| Lord Viscount Forbes, M.P. | 10 | 10 | Capt. Herbert, Esq. R.N. . | 10 | 0 |
| Lord Clifford | 50 | 0 | R. Bourne, Esq. R. N. ... | 5 | 0 |
| Lord Stourton | 50 | 0 | Robert Ogilby, Esq. (co. of | | |
| Lord Stafford | 25 | 0 | Derry) | 50 | 0 |
| Lord Dundas | 25 | 0 | A. G. Wright, Esq. | 25 | 0 |
| Lord Dunally | 25 | 0 | John Wright, Esq. | 25 | 0 |
| Lord William Fitzgerald, | | | Daniel Neal Lister, Esq. .. | 21 | 0 |
| M.P. | 20 | 0 | W. H. Bourne, Esq. | 15 | 15 |
| Lord Arthur Hill, M.P. | 20 | 0 | Peirce Mahony, Esq. | 10 | 10 |
| Lord Francis Leveson | | | David Mahony, Esq. | 10 | 10 |
| Gower, M.P. | 25 | 0 | W. Henry Curran, Esq. ... | 10 | 0 |
| The Right Hon. Sir George | | | James Dwyer, Esq. | 10 | 0 |
| F. Hill, Bart. M.P. | 25 | 0 | John Howley, Esq. | 10 | 0 |
| The Hon. G. A. Ellis, M.P. | 20 | 0 | Maurice O'Connell, Esq. .. | 10 | 0 |
| The Hon. H. C. Clifford .. | 25 | 0 | Henry Robinson, Esq. | 10 | 0 |
| The Hon. William Pon- | | | Richard Sheil, Esq. | 10 | 0 |
| sonby, M.P. | 20 | 0 | Edward Sterling, Esq. | 10 | 0 |
| The Hon. Geo. Dawson | | | Stephen Woulfe, Esq. | 10 | 0 |
| Damer | 20 | 0 | Thomas Wyse, Esq. | 10 | 0 |
| The Hon. Valentine Jer- | | | James Corry, Esq. | 5 | 0 |
| ningham | 10 | 10 | Patrick Curtis, Esq. | 5 | 0 |
| The Hon. Robert King, | | | Fred. Solly Flood, Esq. ... | 5 | 0 |
| M.P. | 10 | 0 | John William Fulton, Esq. | 5 | 0 |
| The Hon. George Fortescue, | | | Cornelius Lyne, Esq. | 5 | 0 |
| M.P. | 5 | 0 | O'Gorman Mahon, Esq. ... | 5 | 0 |
| The Right Reverend Dr. | | | Thomas Moore, Esq. | 5 | 0 |
| Weld | 10 | 0 | Henry Robinson, Jun. Esq. | 5 | 0 |
| Sir Charles Coote, Bart. | | | Bleaden, Alexander and | | |
| M.P. | 25 | 0 | Co. of the London | 5 | 5 |
| Sir Thos. B. Lethbridge, | | | Tavern | | |
| Bart. M.P. | 21 | 0 | Scipio Clint, Esq. | 1 | 1 |
| Judge Day | 25 | 0 | W. Fannelley, Esq. | 1 | 1 |
| Geo. R. Dawson, Esq. M.P. | 25 | 0 | William Talbot, of Ennis.. | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Lloyd, Esq. M.P. | 25 | 0 | | | |
| Henry Villiers Stuart, Esq. | | | | | |
| M.P. | 25 | 0 | | | |

*Address unanimously adopted at a Public Meeting,
held at the City of London Tavern, Bishopsgate
Street, on the 6th May, 1829.*

WE, your Majesty's dutiful and most loyal subjects, beg leave respectfully to approach your throne, with assurances of our unalterable fidelity and attachment to your Majesty's royal person and government. We are most anxious to be permitted to offer to your Majesty our warmest expressions of gratitude for the great work of "civil and religious freedom" which (under your Majesty's most gracious sanction and authority) has just been completed. By this act, your Majesty has crowned the glories of your august reign; a reign, the commencement of which was distinguished by unparalleled successes in war, while its continuation has been still further illustrated by the peace which it has afforded, first to Europe, and now to your own dominions.

That these wise and paternal measures will bring with them, both to your Majesty and to the empire, their "own exceeding great reward," in the increased and increasing love and veneration for your Majesty's throne, and in the renewed and indissoluble union of all classes and all denominations against our common enemies, we are fully convinced. But, while we thus anticipate these advantages, we feel that we should have been wanting in our duty to your Majesty if we had not thus early presented ourselves at the foot of your Majesty's throne, for the purpose of expressing our

gratitude and devotion to your royal person, and of hailing your Majesty as the common father of your people.

That your Majesty may long, very long, continue to witness the benefits of which you are yourself the author, and to enjoy in your own royal person that happiness which you have conferred on your people, is the earnest wish and prayer of us, your dutiful and loyal subjects.

Signed on behalf of the meeting,

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM,

Chairman.

(I.)

Union Hotel, Cockspur Street,
29th May, 1829.

My Lord Duke,

By order of the committee appointed at a public meeting held on the 6th inst. at the London Tavern, to carry into effect the resolutions there agreed to, and in pursuance of the 16th resolution passed at that meeting, I have the honour to transmit for your Grace's information the enclosed copy of the proceedings of the noblemen and gentlemen there assembled.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord Duke,

Your very humble Servant,

PEIRCE MAHONY.

To His Grace the Duke of Wellington,

First Lord of the Treasury, &c. &c.

(II.)

Union Hotel, Cockspur Street,
May 29th, 1829.

Sir,

By order of the committee appointed at a public meeting held on the 6th inst. at the London Tavern, to carry into effect the resolutions there agreed to, and in pursuance of the 16th resolution passed at that meeting, I have the honour to transmit for your information, the enclosed copy of the proceedings of the noblemen and gentlemen there assembled.

The committee have further desired me to request (for the instruction of the Earl of Fitzwilliam) that you will inform us in what manner it is his Majesty's pleasure to receive the Address there unanimously agreed to, a copy of which I have the honour to transmit.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

PEIRCE MAHONY.

Right Hon. R. Peel, Secretary of State
for the Home Department, &c. &c.

(III.)

London, June 2nd, 1829.

Sir,

I had the honour of receiving last night your letter of the 29th May, in which you enclosed a copy of resolutions unanimously agreed upon at a meeting held at the London Tavern, on Wednesday the 6th May; the Earl Fitzwilliam in the chair.

I am highly flattered by the honour conferred upon me especially, and my colleagues, his Majesty's servants, by the noblemen and gentlemen there assembled, and I beg you to accept my thanks for conveying to me a copy of their proceedings upon that occasion.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

WELLINGTON.

Peirce Mahony, Esq.

(IV.)

Whitehall, June 2nd, 1829.

Sir,

I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo, enclosing the printed copy of an Address to his Majesty, which was unanimously adopted by a public meeting held at the City of London Tavern on the 5th of May, of which meeting the Earl Fitzwilliam was chairman, and requesting to be informed, "for the instruction of his Lordship," in what manner it may be his Majesty's pleasure to receive such Address.

If, as it is probable that a levee will not be held by his Majesty at a very early period, you will transmit the Address mentioned in your letter to this office, I will not fail to lay it before his Majesty without delay.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

ROBERT PEEL.

Peirce Mahony, Esq.

Union Hotel, Cockspur Street.

(V.)

Cowes, June 16th, 1829.

Sir,

I had the honour to receive your letter, together with a copy of a resolution agreed upon at a public meeting held at the London Tavern on the 6th May last, and I beg that you will express for me the grateful feelings with which I am impressed by every testimonial which connects my name with the prosperity of Ireland.

I also beg to acknowledge your obliging attention in conveying the resolution to my hands.

I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient Servant,

ANGLESEY.

Peirce Mahony, Esq.

(VI.)

Whitehall, June 11th, 1829.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 6th of June last, enclosing an Address to his Majesty, resolved upon at a meeting at the London Tavern of which your Lordship was chairman.

I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship, that I have laid this Address before his Majesty, who was pleased to receive the same very graciously.

I have the honour to be, with great esteem,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient, humble Servant,

ROBERT PEEL.

The Earl Fitzwilliam, &c.

No. XXXI.

MAJORITIES AND MINORITIES ON THE
CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL.

*House of Lords.—Division on the Second Reading,
April 4, 1829.*

Those marked thus * had heretofore opposed the claims either in the House of Lords or House of Commons.

CONTENT.—PRESENT.

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| * Duke of Clarence | Clarendon | * Strange (Duke of Athol) |
| Duke of Sussex | Carnarvon | Somers |
| Duke of Gloucester | Caledon | * Stradbroke |
| * Lord Chancellor | * Chichester | Thanet |
| * Lord President | Cawdor | Tankerville |
| Lord Privy Seal | Denbigh | Vane (Marquis of Londonderry) |
| DUKES. | * Doncaster (Duke of Buccleugh) | * Westmoreland |
| Brandon (Hamilton) | * Dartmouth | Wicklow |
| * Beaufort | De la Warr | VISCOUNTS. |
| Devonshire | Dudley | * Beresford |
| * Leeds | Essex | Duncan |
| * Manchester | Elgin | Gordon (Earl of Aberdeen) |
| * Rutland | Ferrers | Granville |
| Somerset | Fitzwilliam | Goderich |
| * St. Alban's | Grosvenor | Hood |
| * Wellington | Gosford | Leinster (Duke of) |
| MARQUESSSES. | Grey | Maynard |
| Anglesey | Hardwicke | Melville |
| * Bath | Hillsborough (Marquis of Downshire) | St. Vincent |
| Bristol | Harrowby | Torrington |
| Bute | Ilchester | BISHOPS. |
| Camden | Jersey | Chester |
| Conyngham | * Liverpool | * Derry |
| Hastings | Limerick | Kildare |
| Lansdown | Minto | * Llandaff |
| Winchester | Morley | * Lichfield and Coventry |
| EARLS. | Oxford | * Oxford |
| Albemarle | * Powis | Rochester |
| Amherst | Radnor | * St. David's |
| Blessington | Roseberry | * Winchester |
| Chesterfield | Roslyn | |
| Carlisle | | |
| Cowper | | |

| LORDS. | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Auckland | * Fife (Earl of) | Monteagle (M. of Sligo) |
| Abercromby | Gower | Napier |
| Ailsa (Earl Cassilis) | Grantham | Ormond (M. of) |
| Belhaven | Granard | Oriel |
| Boyle (Earl of Cork) | Howard de Walden | Plunkett |
| Braybrooke | Holland | * Ravensworth |
| * Byron | Hill | Ranfurly (Northland) |
| Clifton (Earl of Damley) | King | * Saltoun |
| Carleton (Earl of Shan- | * Ker (M. of Lothian) | Say and Sele |
| non) | Lyttelton | Sundridge (Duke of Ar- |
| Carteret | * Lilford | gyll) |
| Calthorpe | Lynedoch | Suffield |
| * Carberry | Montford | Selsey |
| * Clanwilliam (E.) | * Montague | Somerhill (M. of Clanri- |
| Dacre | Mendip | carde) |
| Dundas | * Meldrum (Earl of | Seaford |
| De Dunstanville | Aboyne) | * Teynham |
| Dunally | Melbourne | Wellesley (M.) |
| Durham | Maryborough | Wharmcliffe |
| Foley | Melros (Earl of Had- | Willoughby d'Eresby |
| Fitzgibbon (Earl of Clare) | dington) | Yarborough |

PROXIES.

| DUKES. | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| Cambridge | * Harcourt | Clinton |
| Bedford | Kingston | Crewe |
| Buckingham | Lucan | * Douglas |
| Grafton | Mulgrave | Downey (V. Downe) |
| Marlborough | * Orford | * Dufferin |
| * Northumberland | Ross | Erskine |
| Portland | Spencer | * Forrester |
| | St. Germans | Grenville |
| MARQUESSSES. | Suffolk | Howard of Effingham |
| Cleveland | Waldegrave | * Hawke |
| * Hertford | * Warwick | Hopetoun (E. of) |
| Northampton | Wilton | Lauderdale (Earl) |
| Queensberry | | Lovell and Holland (E. |
| Stafford | VISCOUNTS. | of Egmont) |
| Tweeddale | * Arbuthnot | Ponsonby (Earl of Bes- |
| | Anson | borough) |
| EARLS. | Hereford | * Ross (Earl of Glas- |
| * Ashburnham | Hutchinson (Donough- | gow) |
| Belmore | more) | Sondes |
| Buckinghamshire | * Strathallan | Southampton |
| * Chatham | BISHOP. | Sherborne |
| Charlemont | Norwich | Stewart-Garlies (E. Gal- |
| Derby | | loway) |
| Errol | LORDS. | * Saltersford (E. of Cour- |
| Fortescue | Alvanley | town) |
| *Graham (Duke of Mon- | Barham | * Stuart and Rothsay |
| trose) | Berwick | * Wemyss (Earl of) |
| Howe | Breadalbane (Earl) | |
| Harrington | Carrington | |

NOT CONTENT.—PRESENT.

| | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Duke of Cumberland | Longford | Ely |
| ARCHBISHOPS. | Lonsdale | Exeter |
| Canterbury | Malmesbury | Gloucester |
| York | Mansfield | Lincoln |
| Armagh | Mayo | London |
| DUKES. | Morton | Meath |
| Dorset | Mountcashel | Salisbury |
| Newcastle | Norwich (Duke of Gor- | St. Asaph |
| Richmond | don) | LORDS. |
| MARQUESSSES. | O'Neill | Arden |
| Aylesbury | Onslow | Bexley |
| Cholmondeley | Plymouth | Boston |
| Exeter | Poulett | Colville |
| Salisbury | Romney | Farnborough |
| Thomond | Shaftesbury | Farnham |
| EARLS. | Stamford | Grantley |
| Abingdon | Talbot | Hay (Earl of Kinnoull) |
| Ailesford | Verulam | Kenyon |
| Beauchamp | Winchilsea | Manners |
| Bradford | VISCOUNTS. | Middleton |
| Brownlow | Lake | Redesdale |
| Clancarty | Lorton | Rivers |
| Digby | Sidmouth | Rodney |
| Eldon | BISHOPS. | Rolle |
| Enniskillen | Bath and Wells | Sheffield (Earl) |
| Falmouth | Bristol | Sinclair |
| Guildford | Carlisle | Skelmersdale |
| Harewood | Chichester | Tenterden |
| Howe | Durham | Walsingham |

PROXIES.

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| EARLS. | BISHOPS. | Dynevor |
| Carrick | Hereford | Faversham |
| Cardigan | Peterborough | Fisherwick (M. of Done- |
| Charleville | Worcester | gal) |
| Macclesfield | LORDS. | Gambier |
| Manvers | Bagot | Gray |
| Mount Edgecumbe | Bayning | Loftus (M. of Ely) |
| Nelson | Churchill | Le Despencer |
| Rochfort | Clanbrasil (Earl of Ro- | St. Helen's |
| Scarborough | den) | Stowell |
| VISCOUNT. | Colchester | Wallace |
| Exmouth | Dalhousie (Earl) | Willoughby de Broke |
| | Delamore | Wodehouse |
| | De Clifford | |

THE FOLLOWING PEERS VOTED ON THE THIRD READING,
AND NOT ON THE SECOND.

In the Majority.—(*Present*) Duke of Grafton, Lords Ducie, Gage, Glenlyon, Ranfurly (Northland.)—(*Proxies*) Earls Cornwallis, Home, Lord Howard of Effingham.—(*Paired off*) Duke of Manchester, Norwich (Duke of Gordon).

Minority.—(*Present*) Viscount Gort, Lord Ribblesdale.—(*Proxy*) Lord Dynevor.

Twelve peers who voted in the majority on the second reading did not vote on the passing of the bill, and six peers who voted in the minority on the second reading did not vote on the third.

PEERS WHO DID NOT VOTE, EXCLUSIVE OF THE
CATHOLIC PEERS.

MARQUESSSES.

Abercorn (minor)
Townshend (in France)

EARLS.

Abergavenny
Beverley
Berkeley (will not take his seat)
Coventry
Cornwallis
Cadogan
Cathcart
Craven (minor)
Egremont
Harborough
Huntingdon (minor)
Lindsey (minor)
Pomfret
Portsmouth (lunatic)
Pembroke
Sandwich (minor)
Stanhope

VISCOUNTS.

Combermere (in India)
Courtenay (abroad)
Sidney

BARONS.

Audley
Ardrossan (Earl of Eglington, in Scotland), a minor
Bolton
Brodrick
Carysfort, Earl of (lunatic)

Cowley
De la Zouch
Dorchester (minor)
Forbes
De Tabley (minor)
Glenlyon
Gage (too late)
Gardner (minor)
Harris
Heytesbury
Home (Earl of)
Moore (Marquis of Drogheda), a lunatic
Monson (minor)
Northwick (too late)
Penshurst (Viscount)
Ponsonby (of Imokilly)
Prudhoe
Ribblesdale
Scarsdale
Strangford (in Brazil)
Stuart (Earl of Moray)
Tyrone (Marquis of Waterford), a minor
Thurlow
Vernon
Wigan (Earl of Balcarras)
BISHOP.
Bangor (Magendie)
IRISH PEERS.
Bandon, Earl of (not taken his seat)
Headfort, Marquis of

PROTESTS.—The Duke of Newcastle entered his protest against the second reading of the Catholic Relief bill—1st, as tending to establish Popery ; 2nd, as a violation of the constitution of 1688 ; 3rd, because the admission of Papists to parliament was a violation of the exclusion act of 1677 ; 4th, because to break in upon laws considered permanent, was dangerous to our religion, laws, and liberties ; 5th, because a proneness to depart from old institutions gave just cause of apprehension for the present and future. Lord Kenyon subscribed the protest for the third and fourth reasons ; and Lords Mansfield, Howe, Romney, Malmesbury, Brownlow, O'Neill, and Bradford, protested generally against the second reading. Lords Walsingham and Kenyon also protested against the second reading of the bill, as being destitute of securities. Lord Farnham entered his protest against the bill after it had passed into a law.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—DIVISION ON THE THIRD READING, March 30, 1829.

Those who in 1827 voted against concession, and whose names now appear in the majority on the third reading, are marked (o). The places not otherwise distinguished are boroughs ; (co.) signifies county, and (c.) city members.

MAJORITY.

Abercromby, J. Calne
Acland, Sir T. Devonshire
Alexander, J. Barnstaple
Althorp, Lord, Northamptonshire
Anson, Sir G. Lichfield, c.
Anson, Hon. G. Yarmouth
Apsley, Lord, Cirencester
Arbuthnot, Rt. Hon. C. St. Ives
(o) Arbuthnot, Hon. Col. Kincardineshire
Archdeckne, A. Dunwich
(o) Ashley, Lord, Woodstock
Baillie, Col. Hedon
Balfour, J. Anstruther
Barclay, D. Penryn
Baring, A. Callington
Baring, W. B. Thetford
Baring, F. Portsmouth
Beaumont, T. W. Stafford

Bective, Earl of, Meath, co.
Benett, J. Wiltshire
Bentinck, Lord G. King's Lynn
(o) Beresford, Sir J. Northallerton
(o) Beresford, Lieut.-col. Berwick, c.
Bernard, T. King's co.
Bingham, L. Mayo, co.
Birch, J. Nottingham, c.
Blake, Sir F. Berwick-on-Tweed
Boyle, Hon. J. Cork, co.
Bourne, Right Hon. L. Ashburton
Brecknock, Earl of, Bath, c.
(o) Brogden, J. Launceston
Brougham, J. Truro
Browne, J. Mayo
Brownlow, C. Armagh, co.
Bruen, H. Carlow, co.
Buller, C. West Looe
Burdett, Sir F. Westminster, c.

- Buxton, T. F. Weymouth
 Burrard, G. Lymington
 Byng, G. Middlesex
 Calcraft, Right Hon. J. Wareham
 Calthorpe, Hon. F. Bramber
 Calvert, C. Southwark
 (o) Calvert, N. Hertfordshire
 Campbell, A. Glasgow, c.
 (o) Campbell, W. Argyleshire
 (o) Campbell, J. Dumbartonsh.
 Carew, R. Wexford, co.
 Carrington, Sir C. St. Mawes
 (o) Cartwright, W. Northamptonsh.
 Castlereagh, Visc. Down, co.
 Caulfield, Hon. H. Armagh, co.
 Cave, O. Leicester
 Cavendish, Lord G. Derbyshire
 Cavendish, C. Newtown
 Chichester, Sir A. Carrickfergus, c.
 Cholmondeley, Lord H. Castle Ris-
 ing
 Clerk, Sir G. Edinburgh
 Clements, Viscount, Leitrim, co.
 Clifton, Viscount, Canterbury, c.
 (o) Clive, Viscount, Ludlow
 (o) Clive, Hon. R. Ludlow
 (o) Clive, E. Hereford, c.
 Clive, H. Montgomery
 Cockburn, Sir G. Plymouth
 Cocks, J. Reygate
 Colborne, N. R. Thetford
 (o) Cole, Sir C. Glamorganshire
 (o) Cook, Sir H. Orford
 Coote, Sir C. Queen's co.
 (o) Corbett, P. Shrewsbury, c.
 Courtenay, Right Hon. T. Totness
 Cradock, S. Camelford
 Crampton, S. Derby, c.
 Dawson, A. Louth, co.
 Daly, J. Galway, co.
 Denison, W. J. Surrey
 Denison, J. Hastings
 Doherty, J. Kilkenny, c.
 Douglas, W. B. Dumfries, &c.
 Drummond, H. Stirlingshire
 Du Cane, P. Steyning
 Darlington, Earl of, Totness
 Duncannon, Visc. Kilkenny, co.
 Duncombe, T. S. Hertford
 Dundas, Hon. G. Orkney, &c.
 Dundas, Hon. R. Richmond
 Dundas, C. Berkshire
 East, Sir E. Winchester, c.
 Easthope, J. St. Alban's
 Eastnor, Viscount, Hereford
 Ebrington, Viscount, Tavistock
 (o) Eden, Hon. R. Fowey
 Elliot, Lord, Liskeard
 Ellis, Hon. G. A. Ludgershall
 Ellis, Hon. A. Seaford
 Ellison, C. Newcastle-on-Tyne
 Ennismore, Viscount, Cork, co.
 Ewart, W. Blechingley
 (o) Fane, Hon. H. Lyme Regis
 Fane, T. Lyme Regis
 Farquhar, Sir R. Hythe
 Fazakerley, J. N. Lincoln, c.
 Ferguson, Sir R. Dysart
 Fitzgerald, Rt. Hon. M. Kerry, co.
 Fitzgerald, Lord W. Kildare, co.
 Fitzgerald, Rt. Hon. V. Newport
 Fitzgerald, J. Seaford
 Fitzgibbon, Col. Limerick, c.
 (o) Foley, J. H. Droitwich
 Forbes, Visc. Longford, co.
 Forbes, Sir C. Malmesbury
 Forbes, J. Malmesbury
 Fortescue, Hon. G. Hindon
 (o) Foster, L. Louth, co.
 Frankland, R. Thirsk
 Fremantle, Sir T. Buckingham
 French, A. Roscommon, co.
 Garlies, Visc. Cockermonth
 (o) Gilbert, D. Bodmin
 Gordon, R. Cricklade
 (o) Goulburn, Rt. Hon. H. Armagh
 Gower, Lord F. L. Sutherlandsh.
 Graham, Sir J. Cumberland
 (o) Graham, Marquis, Cambridge
 Grant, Rt. Hon. C. Inverness-shire
 Grant, Col. Elginshire
 Grant, R. Fortrose
 Grattan, J. Wicklow, co.
 Grattan, H. Dublin, c.
 Grosvenor, Gen. Stockbridge
 Grosvenor, Hon. R. Chester, c.
 Gordon, Sir W. Aberdeenshire
 Guest, J. Honiton
 Guise, Sir B. Gloucestershire
 Gurney, H. Newport (I. W.)
 Hardinge, Sir H. Durham, c.
 Hay, Lord J. Haddingtonshire
 Hay, A. Peebles, &c.
 Heathcote, Sir G. Boston
 (o) Herries, Right Hon. J. C. Har-
 wich

- Hill, Lord A. Down, co.
 (o) Hill, Rt. Hon. Sir G. Derry, c.
 Hobhouse, J. C. Westminster, c.
 (o) Hodgson, F. Barnstaple
 Horton, R. W. Newcastle-under-
 Line
 Howard, H. Shoreham
 Hughes, W. L. Wallingford
 (o) Halse, J. St. Ives
 Hume, J. Aberdeen, &c.
 Hurst, R. Horsham
 Huskisson, Right Hon. W. Liver-
 pool, c.
 Hutchinson, J. H. Tipperary, co.
 Hutchinson, J. Cork, c.
 Howard, Hon. G. Castle Rising
 Ingilby, Sir R. Lincolnshire
 Innes, Sir H. Dingwall, &c.
 Jephson, C. D. Mallow
 Jermyn, Earl, Orford
 Jolliffe, Col. Petersfield
 (o) Keckewich, S. Exeter, c.
 Kennedy, F. Ayr, &c.
 King, Hon. R. Roscommon
 Knight, R. Wallingford
 Knox, Hon. T. Dungannon
 Labouchere, H. St. Michael's
 Lamb, Hon. G. Dungarvon
 Lambert, J. S. Galway, co.
 (o) Langston, J. Oxford, c.
 Lascelles, Hon. W. East Looe
 Latouche, R. Kildare, co.
 Lawley, F. Warwickshire
 Lennard, T. B. Maldon
 Leycester, R. Shaftesbury
 Lewis, Rt. Hon. T. F. Ennis
 Lester, B. Poole
 Liddell, Hon. H. Northumberland-
 shire
 Lindsay, Hon. H. Perth, &c.
 Littleton, E. Staffordshire
 Lloyd, Sir E. Flint
 Lloyd, T. Limerick, co.
 Lockhart, J. Oxford, c.
 Loch, J. St. Germain's
 Lumley, J. Nottinghamshire
 Lushington, Dr. Tregony
 Maberly, J. Abingdon
 Maberly, Lt.-Col. Northampton
 Mackintosh, Sir J. Knaresboro'
 Mackenzie, Sir J. Ross-shire
 Maitland, Visc. Appleby
 Maitland, Hon. Capt. Berwicksh.
 Marjoribanks, S. Hythe
 Marshall, J. Yorkshire
 Marshall, W. Petersfield
 (o) Martin, Sir T. B. Plymouth
 Martin, J. Tewkesbury
 Maule, Hon. W. Forfarshire
 Maxwell, J. Downpatrick
 Milbank, M. Camelford
 Mildmay, P. Winchester
 Milton, Visc. Yorkshire
 Monck, J. Reading
 Morrison, J. Banff, co.
 Morland, Sir S. St. Mawes
 Morpeth, Visc. Morpeth
 Mostyn, Sir T. Flint
 Mountcharles, Lord Donegal, co.
 Murray, Sir G. Perthshire
 (o) Northcote, H. Heytesbury
 Nugent, Lord, Aylesbury
 Nugent, Sir G. Buckingham, c.
 North, J. Dublin University
 O'Brien, W. S. Ennis
 O'Brien, L. Clare, co.
 Ord, W. Morpeth
 Owen, Sir J. Pembrokehire
 Oxmantown, Lord King's County
 (o) Palmer, C. F. Reading
 (o) Palmer, R. Berkshire
 Palmerston, Visc. Cambridge Univ.
 Parnell, Sir H. Queen's County
 (o) Peel, Rt. Hon. R. Westbury
 (o) Peel, W. Y. Tamworth
 Peel, L. Cockermouth
 Pendarvis, E. Cornwall, co.
 Phillips, G. Steyning
 Phillips, G. Wotton Bassett
 Phillimore, Dr. Yarmouth (I. W.)
 Phipps, Hon. G. Scarborough
 Perceval, S. Newport, Hants
 Ponsonby, Hon. F. Higham Ferrers
 Ponsonby, Hon. G. Youghall
 Ponsonby, Hon. W. Poole
 Power, R. Waterford, co.
 Powlett, Lord W. Durham, c.
 Poyntz, W. Chichester
 (o) Prendergast, M. Gatton
 Price, R. New Radnor
 Pringle, Sir W. Liskeard
 Prittie, Hon. F. Tipperary, co.
 Proby, Hon. G. Wicklow, co.
 Protheroe, E. Evesham
 Pryse, P. Cardigan
 Rae, Rt. Hon. Sir W. Harwich
 (o) Raine, J. Newport (Cornwall)
 Ramsbottom, J. Windsor

Ramsden, Hon. J. C. Malton
 Ranccliffe, Lord, Nottingham, c.
 Rice, T. S. Limerick, c.
 Robarts, A. Maidstone
 Robinson, Sir G. Northampton
 Robinson, G. Worcester, c.
 Rowley, Sir W. Suffolk
 Rumbold, C. Yarmouth
 Russell, Lord J. Bedford
 Russell, R. G. Thirsk
 Sandon, Viscount, Tiverton
 (o) Sanderson, A. Cavan, co.
 Scarlett, Sir J. Peterborough
 Scott, Sir W. Carlisle
 Scott, H. F. Roxburghshire
 Sebright, Sir J. Hertfordshire
 Sinclair, Hon. Major, Caithness
 Slaney, R. A. Shrewsbury
 Smith, G. Wendover
 Smith, W. Norwich
 (o) Somerset, Lord G. Monmouth-
 shire
 Somerville, Sir M. Meath, co.
 Stanley, Lord, Lancashire
 Stanley, E. Preston
 Stewart, A. R. Londonderry, co.
 Stewart, Sir M. Lanark, co.
 Stuart, Lord J. Cardiff
 Stuart, H. V. Waterford, co.
 Sykes, D. Hull
 Sugden, E. B. Weymouth
 Talmash, Hon. F. Grantham
 Talmash, Hon. L. Ilchester
 Taylor, M. A. Durham, c.
 Taylor, Sir C. Wells
 Tennyson, C. Blechingley
 (o) Thompson, W. London, c.
 Thompson, P. B. Wenlock
 Thomson, C. P. Dover
 Thynne, Lord J. Bath, c.
 Thynne, Lord W. Weobly
 Thyne, Lord H.

Tierney, Rt. Hon. G. Knaresboro
 (o) Tindal, Sir N. Camb. Univ.
 Tomes, J. Warwick, c.
 Townshend, Hon. J. Whitechurch
 Trench, Col. Cambridge
 Tufton, Hon. H. Appleby
 Tunno, E. Bossiney
 Twiss, H. Wotton Bassett
 Valletort, Lord, Lostwithiel
 Van Homrigh, P. Drogheda
 Vernon, G. Lichfield, c.
 Villiers, T. H. Hedon
 Waithman, R. London, c.
 Wall, C. Wareham
 Walpole, Hon. C. King's Lynn
 Warburton, H. Bridport
 Warrender, Sir G. Westbury
 (o) Webb, E. Gloucester, c.
 Westenra, Hon. H. Monaghan, co.
 Western, C. C. Essex
 Whitbread, S. C. Middlesex
 Whitbread, W. Bedford
 White, S. Leitrim, co.
 White, Col. Dublin, co.
 Whitmore, W. Bridgnorth
 Wilbraham, G. Stockbridge
 Williams, O. Great Marlow
 Williams, T. P. Great Marlow
 Wilson, Sir R. Southwark
 Winnington, Sir F. Worcestershire
 Wodehouse, E. Norfolk
 Wood, M. London, c.
 Wood, C. Preston
 Wortley, Hon. J. Bossiney
 Wrottesley, Sir J. Staffordshire
 Wynn, Sir W. W. Denbighshire
 Wyvill, M. York
 (o) Yorke, Sir J. Reigate

TELLERS.

(o) Dawson, G. Londonderry, co.
 Planta, J. Hastings

PAIRED OFF IN FAVOUR OF THE BILL.

Bouverie, Hon. B. Downton
 Colthurst, Sir N. Cork, c.
 Clarke, Hon. C. Kilkenny, co.
 Dundas, Right Hon. W. Edin-
 burgh, co.
 Davies, Col. Worcester, c.
 Davenport, E. Shaftesbury
 Heron, Sir R. Petersborough
 Howick, Lord, Winchelsea
 (o) Lethbridge, Sir T. Somerset

Marshall, J. Yorkshire
 Newport, Sir J. Waterford, c.
 Owen, H. Pembroke
 O'Hara, J. Galway, c.
 Sefton, Earl of, Droitwich
 Smith, Hon. R. Buckinghamshire
 Somerset, Lord R. Gloucestershire
 Stewart, J. Beverley
 Tavistock, Marquess, Bedfordshire
 Talbot, R. W. Dublin, co.

MINORITY.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Antrobus, G. Plympton | Encombe, Viscount, Truro |
| Archdall, Gen. Fermanagh, co. | Estcourt, T. Oxford University |
| Arkwright, R. Eye | Estcourt, T. H. Marlborough |
| Ashurst, W. Oxfordshire | Farquhar, J. Portarlington |
| Astley, Sir J. D. Wiltshire | Fellowes, H. Huntingdonshire |
| Baker, E. Wilton | Fetherston, Sir G. Longford, co. |
| Bankes, H. Dorchester | Foley, E. Ludgershall |
| Bankes, W. Marlborough | Forrester, Hon. C. Wenlock |
| Bankes, G. Corfe Castle | Fyler, T. B. Coventry, c. |
| Bastard, E. Devonshire | Gascoyne, General, Liverpool |
| Batley, C. Beverley | Gordon, J. Weymouth |
| Beckett, Sir J. Haslemere | Grant, Sir A. Lostwithiel |
| Belfast, Earl of, Belfast, c. | Greene, T. Lancaster |
| Bell, M. Northumberland | Gye, F. Chippenham |
| Blandford, Marquess, Woodstock | Hastings, Sir C. Leicester |
| Borradaile, R. Newcastle-under- | Heathcote, Sir W. Hampshire |
| Line | Holdsworth, A. H. Clifton, &c. |
| Bradshaw, Capt. Brackley | Hodson, J. A. Wigan |
| Bright, H. Bristol, c. | Hotham, Lord, Leominster |
| Brydges, Sir J. Kent, co. | Inglis, Sir R. Oxford University |
| Buck, L. W. Exeter | Keck, G. A. Leicestershire |
| Burrell, Sir C. Shoreham | Kemp, T. Lewes |
| Buxton, J. Bedwin | Kerrison, Sir E. Eye |
| Capel, J. Queenborough | King, Sir J. D. Wycombe |
| Cawthorne, J. Lancaster | King, Hon. H. Sligo, co. |
| Cecil, Lord T. Stamford | Kuatchbull, Sir E. Kent |
| Chichester, Sir A. Millborne Port | Legge, Hon. A. Banbury |
| Cole, Hon. A. Enniskillen | Lott, H. B. Honiton |
| Cooper, R. B. Gloucester, c. | Lushington, Colonel, Carlisle |
| Cooper, E. S. Dartmouth | Lowther, Viscount, Westmoreland |
| Corry, Viscount, Fermanagh, co. | Lowther, Hon. Colonel, Westmore- |
| Corry, Hon. H. Tyrone, co. | land |
| Cotterell, Sir J. Herefordshire | Lowther, J. H. Wigton, &c. |
| Curteis, E. J. Sussex | Lucy, G. Fowey |
| Cust, Hon. Capt. Clitheroe | Luttrell, J. Minehead |
| Cust, Hon. E. Lostwithiel | Lygon, Hon. Colonel, Worcester- |
| Davenport, E. Shaftesbury | shire |
| Davis, R. H. Bristol, c. | Mackinnon, C. Ipswich |
| Dawkins, Col. Boroughbridge | Malcolm, N. Boston |
| Dick, Q. Orford | Mandeville, Lord, Huntingdonshire |
| Dick, H. G. Maldon | Manners, Lord R. Leicestershire |
| Dickinson, W. Somersetshire | Macleod, J. N. Sudbury |
| Dotin, A. Southampton | Maxwell, H. Cavan, co. |
| Downie, R. Stirling, &c. | Meynell, Captain, Lisburn |
| Drake, T. Amersham | Morgan, Sir C. Monmouthshire |
| Drake, W. Amersham | Munday, G. Boroughbridge |
| Domville, Sir C. Oakhampton | Munday, F. Derbyshire |
| Dugdale, D. Warwickshire | Miles, P. J. Corfe Castle |
| Dowdeswell, J. Tewkesbury | O'Neil, Hon. General, Antrim |
| Dundas, R. A. Ipswich | O'Neill, A. J. Hull |
| Egerton, W. Chester, c. | Palk, Sir L. Ashburton |

Pallmer, C. N. Surrey
 Peachey, General, Taunton
 Pearce, J. Devizes
 Peel, Colonel, Norwich, c.
 Pelham, J. C. Shropshire
 Pennant, G. New Romney
 Pigot, Colonel, Kinross-shire
 Petit, L. H. Ripon
 Peach, N. W. Corfe Castle
 Powell, Colonel, Cardigan, co.
 Powel, A. Downton
 Price, R. New Radnor
 Rickford, W. Aylesbury
 Rochfort, G. Westmeath, co.
 Rose, Right Hon. G. Christchurch
 Rose, G. P. Christchurch
 Ryder, Right Hon. B. Tiverton
 Sadler, M. S. Newark
 St. Paul, Sir H. Bridport
 Scott, Hon. W. Gatton
 Scott, Hon. W. Newport (I. W.)
 Spence, G. Ripon
 Shirley, J. O. Monaghan, co.
 Sibthorp, Col. Lincoln
 Smyth, Sir G. Colchester

Sotheron, Adm. Nottinghamshire
 Strutt, Col. Oakhampton
 Taylor, G. Devizes
 Thompson, G. Halesmere
 Tapps, G. W. New Romney
 Trant, W. Dover
 Trevor, Hon. G. Carmarthenshire
 Tullamore, Lord, Carlow
 Uxbridge, Earl of, Anglesey
 Vyvyan, Sir R. R. Cornwall, co.
 Wells, J. Maidstone
 Wemys, Capt. Fifeshire
 West, Hon. F. Denbigh
 Wetherell, Sir C. Hastings
 Wigram, W. New Ross
 Willoughby, H. Newark
 Wilson, R. F. Yorkshire
 Wilson, Col. York, co.
 Wyndham, W. New Sarum
 Wynn, O. Sligo

TELLERS.

Chandos, Marq. of, Buckingham-
 shire
 Moore, G. Dublin, c.

PAIRED OFF AGAINST THE BILL.

Bastard, J. Dartmouth
 Blackburne, J. Lancashire
 Chaplin, C. Lincolnshire
 Chaplin, T. Stamford
 Carmarthen, Marq. Helston
 Duncombe, Hon. W. Yorkshire
 Evans, H. Wexford, c.
 Gooch, Sir T. Suffolk
 Houldsworth, T. Pontefract

Harvey, Sir E. Essex
 Handcock, R. Athlone
 Lennox, W. G. Chichester
 Lowther, Sir J. Cumberland
 Morgan, G. Brecon
 Noel, Sir G. Rutland, co.
 Nicholl, Sir J. Bedwin
 Whitmore, T. Bridgnorth

Irish members absent.—Croker, Right Hon. J. W. Dublin University (indisposed); Macnaghten, E. Antrim, co.; Kavenagh, F. Carlow, co.; Collett, E. Cashel; Dawson, J. M. Clonmell; Maxwell, J. W. Downpatrick; Russell, J. Kinsale; Knox, Hon. J. Newry; King, Hon. W. Cork, co.; Denhy, Sir E. Tralee; Stewart, W. Tyrone, co.; Tuite, H. M. Westmeath, co.; Stopford, Lord, Wexford, co.

The following members, who had heretofore opposed the claims, voted in favour of the bill on previous divisions.—Ashley, Lord, Woodstock; Arbuthnot, Hon. Col. Kincardineshire; Bradshaw, Capt. J. Brackley; Jones, J. Carmarthen; Irving, J. Bramber; King, Hon. W. Cork, c.; Lindsey, Col. Wigan; Norton, G. Guildford; Owen, Sir E. Sandwich; Paget, Lord W. Carnarvon; Somerset, Lord E. Gloucestershire; Vivian, Sir H. Windsor.

XL.

A Tabular Digest of all the Proceedings that have taken place in Parliament on the subject of the General Laws affecting the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, from the period of the first Act passed in 1778 to the present time; concluding with a View of the Progress of the Relief Bill through both Houses of the Legislature.

DATE.

OBSERVATIONS.

RESULT.

1778 Irish Act.—18th Geo. III. c. 60, repealed so much of the 11th and 12th Wm. III. c. 4, as affected the inheritance or purchase of property by Roman Catholics; as also the clauses authorising the prosecution of priests and Jesuits, and the imprisonment for life of Papists keeping schools.

[In 1779, exactly half a century from the final success of the Catholic Question, Mr. Fox brought the subject forward in the English House of Commons, and it was negatived by a large majority.]

1791 31st Geo. III. c. 32, prescribed a new declaration and oath in lieu of the oath of supremacy contained in the 1st Wm. and Mary, s. 1, c. 8, and 1st Geo. I. s. 2, c. 13, and for refusing to take which oath of supremacy persons had been subject to certain penalties. The same act (31st Geo. III.) also tolerated, under certain regulations, the religious worship of Roman Catholics, and their schools for education. Upon taking the oath prescribed in the new act, Papists were exempted from the penalties of the 1st

DATE.

OBSERVATIONS.

RESULT.

of Wm. and Mary, s. 1, c. 9, for approaching within ten miles of London; peers were no longer liable to be prosecuted under the 30th Charles II. s. 2, c. 1, for entering his Majesty's house or presence; Catholics were permitted to practise the law, upon taking the oath; and the double land-tax (in Ireland) imposed on Catholics was removed; and they were relieved from other penalties and disabilities.

[The benefit of this act was extended to the Scotch Catholics in the year 1793.]

1793 Irish Act.—33rd Geo. III. conferred the elective franchise in Ireland, by repealing the 7th and 8th Wm. III. c. 27, which disabled from voting at elections all persons refusing the oath of supremacy; threw open all employments in the army in Ireland to Catholics, and all offices in the navy, even that of admiral, on the Irish station. Three offices in the army alone were excepted—the commander-in-chief, master-general of the ordnance, and generals on the staff. The Earl of Westmoreland was lord-lieutenant at the time this important act was passed, which was done on a recommendation from the throne.

MOTIONS SINCE THE UNION.

LORDS. COMMONS.

| | | | | |
|------|---|---------|----------------|----------------|
| 1805 | May 10.—Lord Grenville: motion for committee on Irish petition | .. .. . | <i>Ay. No.</i> | <i>Ay. No.</i> |
| | | | 49—178 | |
| | May 13.—Mr. Fox: a similar motion | .. .. . |  | 124—336 |
| 1807 | March 5.—Bill brought in by Lord Grenville, to extend so much of the act of 1793 to England, as threw open the army and navy to Roman Catholics. The king opposed to it: requires a pledge from Lords Grenville and Grey: Parliament dissolved: | | | |

APPENDIX.

CCCXXIX

| DATE. | OBSERVATIONS. | RESULT. | |
|-----------------|---|----------------|----------------|
| | | LORDS. | COMMONS. |
| | | <i>Ay. No.</i> | <i>Ay. No.</i> |
| | Lord Grenville's administration broken up, and that of Mr. Perceval formed. | | |
| 1808 May 25.— | Mr. Grattan : motion for committee | 128— | 281 |
| May 27.— | Lord Donoughmore : ditto .. | 74— | 161 |
| | [Maynooth College endowed this year.] | | |
| 1810 May 13.— | Mr. Grattan : motion for committee | 101— | 213 |
| June 6.— | Lord Donoughmore : ditto .. | 68— | 154 |
| 1812 April 21.— | Ditto : to consider the claims .. | 102— | 174 |
| April 23.— | Mr. Grattan : similar motion | 215— | 300 |
| | [New Parliament.] | | |
| June 22.— | Mr. Canning : to consider next session | 106— | 235 |
| July 1.— | Marquess Wellesley : ditto .. | 125— | 126 |
| 1813 Feb. 25.— | Mr. Grattan : resolution for committee. After four days' debate, the house divided | 264— | 224 |
| May 11.— | Sir J. C. Hippisley moved for a committee : opposed, as hostile to the bill then in progress. Division on the motion | 187— | 235 |
| | Division on Dr. Duigenan's motion, that the bill be read a third time that day 3 months | 203— | 245 |
| May 24.— | In committee on the bill, the Speaker (having left the chair) moved that the clause allowing Catholics to sit in parliament be omitted | 251— | 24 |
| | [Bill then given up by Mr. Ponsonby.] | | |
| 1815 May 31.— | Sir H. Parnell : motion for committee | 147— | 22 |
| 1816 May 21.— | Mr. Grattan : ditto | 141— | 17 |
| 1817 May 9.— | Ditto | 221— | 24 |
| | [In this session a bill was introduced by the Liverpool administration and passed, opening the army and navy to the English Catholics. It did not dispense with the oaths of allegiance or supre- | | |

| DATE. | OBSERVATIONS. | RESULT. | |
|-----------------|--|----------------|----------------|
| | | LOORDS. | COMMONS. |
| | | <i>Ay. No.</i> | <i>Ay. No.</i> |
| | macy, but relieved Catholic officers from the penal consequences of omitting to take them by an annual act of indemnity.] | | |
| | [New Parliament.] | | |
| 1819 May 4.— | Mr. Grattan : motion for committee | .. .. | 241—243 |
| | [New Parliament.] | | |
| 1821 Feb. 28.— | Mr. Plunkett : ditto .. .. | .. .. | 227—221 |
| | Bill brought in : division on third reading | .. .. | 216—197 |
| | April 16.—Bill moved in Upper House by Lord Donoughmore .. .. | .. .. | 120—159 |
| 1822 April 30.— | Mr. Canning : for leave to bring in a bill enabling Roman Catholic Peers to sit in Parliament .. .. | .. .. | 219—244 |
| | Bill brought in : division on third reading | .. .. | 248—227 |
| | June 22.—Moved in Upper House by Duke of Portland .. .. | .. .. | 129—271 |
| 1823 April 28.— | Mr. Plunkett's motion for a committee : Sir F. Burdett and the Whigs left the House, motion met by a counter-motion for adjournment : division on this amendment .. .. | .. .. | 313—111 |
| 1824 | Divisions on bills to enable Catholics to vote at elections, and to act as magistrates { | .. .. | 101—139 |
|  | { | .. .. | 109—143 |
| | [An act passed this session, to permit the Duke of Norfolk to execute his office of Earl Marshal.] | | |
| 825 April 19.— | Second reading of Sir F. Burdett's Relief bill, with the disfranchising and clergy-pensioning wings .. .. | .. .. | 268—241 |
| | [No division on the third reading.] | | |
| | May 18.—Second reading in Upper House | 130—178 | |
| | [New Parliament.] | | |
| 327 March 5.— | Sir F. Burdett : motion for committee .. .. | .. .. | 272—276 |

APPENDIX.

CCCXXXI

| DATE. | OBSERVATIONS. | RESULT. | |
|--|---|---------|----------|
| | | LORDS. | COMMONS. |
| | | Ay. No. | Ay. No. |
| 1828 May 8.—Ditto (three days' debate) | .. .. | .. | 272—260 |
| May 16.—Conference with Lords agreed to. | | | |
| May 19.—Lords appointed to confer, on motion of Duke of Wellington. | | | |
| June 9.—Marquess of Lansdowne's motion on Commons' resolution | .. .. | 137—182 | |
| | [A bill was introduced this session by Mr. G. Bankes, and passed, relieving English Catholics from the double assessment to the land tax, to which they had before been subject, on their not taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, as first enjoined in the statutes against recusancy.] | | |
| 1829 Feb. 5.—Recommendation from the throne at the opening of the session, that parliament should "take into deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland; review the laws which impose civil disabilities on his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects; and consider whether the removal of those disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of the establishments in church and state; with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and clergy of the realm, and of the churches committed to their charge." | | | |
| March 5.—A bill suppressing the Irish Catholic Association, recommended in the speech, having passed both houses unanimously, and received the royal assent this day by commission, Mr. Peel, secretary for the home department, brought forward a motion for a committee on the laws affect- | | | |

DATE.

OBSERVATIONS.

RESULT.

LORDS. COMMONS.

Ay. No. Ay. No.

ing Roman Catholics—division on Mr.

Peel's motion 348—160

Bill of Relief then introduced. It abolished

all the civil disabilities on Roman Catho-

lics, by repealing the oaths of supremacy,

abjuration, &c., and substituting an oath

of allegiance to the Protestant succession

of the House of Brunswick, binding the Ca-

tholics to defend the settlement of property

as established by law, and not to injure or

subvert the present church establishment.

The bill rendered Catholics eligible to all

offices in the state, excepting the lord chan-

cancellorships of England and Ireland; the lord

lieutenancy of Ireland; the offices of regent

or guardian of the United Kingdom; and

that of high commissioner to the church of

Scotland. They were still excluded from

the right of presentation to livings, and all

places connected with the ecclesiastical

courts and the establishment. Catholics in

office were not to advise the crown relative

to any appointment in the established

church, under certain penalties, and being

disabled from holding any office in future.

The church patronage attached to any office

in the hands of a Catholic, to be vested in

the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time

being. Catholic bishops not to assume the

titles of sees held by Protestant bishops,

nor the insignia of civil office, such as the

mace, aldermanic gown, &c. to be worn in

any other places of worship than those of

the Protestant establishment. The only ap-

pendages to this bill in the shape of secu-

rities, was a clause for the gradual sup-

APPENDIX.

CCCXXXiii

| DATE. | OBSERVATIONS. | RESULT. | |
|-----------|--|----------------|----------------|
| | | LORDS. | COMMONS. |
| | | <i>Ay. No.</i> | <i>Ay. No.</i> |
| | pression of the Jesuits and other monastic orders (religious establishments of females excepted), and an act for raising the freehold franchise in Ireland from 40s. to 10 <i>l</i> . | | |
| March 17. | —Division on second reading of Catholic Relief bill | | 353—173 |
| March 30. | —Third reading — division on amendment of Marquess of Chandos, that it be read a third time that day six months | | 142—320 |
| April 2. | —Second reading of bill moved in Lords by Duke of Wellington. Debate on Thursday and Friday nights; resumed on Saturday afternoon at one o'clock, and continued until eleven o'clock at night.—Division on Archbishop of Canterbury's motion (seconded by Archbp. of Armagh), that the bill be read a third time that day six months | 112—217 | |
| April 10. | —Third reading of Relief bill .. | 213—109 | |
| | [The Disfranchisement bill was also read a third time, and passed without a division. The minority in each house of parliament on the second reading was precisely the same—17.] | | |
| April 13. | —Royal assent given by commission to the Catholic Relief bill and Freeholds (Ireland) Regulation bill. | | |

PETITIONS PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1829.

| <i>Against the Bill.</i> | | | | <i>For the Bill.</i> | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|------|-------|-----------------------------|----|-----|--|
| Previous to the 1st reading | .. | 957 | | Previous to the 1st reading | .. | 357 | |
| Do. .. 2nd do. | .. | 736 | | Do. .. 2nd do. | .. | 404 | |
| Do. .. 3rd do. | .. | 310 | | Do. .. 3rd do. | .. | 176 | |
| Since .. 3rd do. | .. | 10 | | Since .. 3rd do. | .. | 18 | |
| | | 2013 | | | | 955 | |
| | Against the Bill | .. | 2013 | | | | |
| | In favour of the Bill | .. | 955 | | | | |
| | | | —1058 | | | | |

PETITIONS PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS, 1829.

| <i>Against the Bill.</i> | | | <i>For the Bill.</i> | | |
|--------------------------------|-------|-------|--------------------------------|-------|--|
| Previous to the 1st reading .. | 2110 | | Previous to the 1st reading .. | 912 | |
| Do. .. 2nd do. .. | 193 | | Do. .. 2nd do. .. | 53 | |
| Do. .. 3rd do. .. | 218 | | Do. .. 3rd do. .. | 49 | |
| | <hr/> | | | <hr/> | |
| | 2521 | | | 1014 | |
| Against the Bill | .. | 2521 | | | |
| In favour of the Bill | .. | 1014 | | | |
| | | <hr/> | | 1507 | |

No. XLI.

MR. O'CONNELL.

To the Electors of the County of Clare.

“ Still shalt thou be my waking theme,
 Thy glories still my midnight dream ;
 And every thought and wish of mine,
 Unconquered Erin, shall be thine.”

The House of Commons have deprived me of the right conferred on me by the people of Clare. They have, in my opinion, unjustly and illegally deprived me of that right; but from their decision there is no appeal, save to the people.—I appeal to you.

Electors of the county of Clare, to you is due the glory of converting Peel and conquering Wellington. The last election for Clare is admitted to have been the immediate and irresistible cause of producing “the Catholic Relief bill.” You have achieved the religious liberty of Ireland. Another such victory in Clare,

and we shall attain the political freedom of our beloved country.

The Catholic religion is liberated from the shackles of oppression. The Protestant religion is liberated from the stain of persecution. The causes which produced Orangeism and Brunswickism are at an end. The Catholics are emancipated, and conscience is free!

To the electors of the county of Clare are these happy results mainly and immediately due. But there remain many political and practical grievances and oppressions. There remain many obstacles to the prosperity of our countrymen—to the diffusion of capital—to the safety of the poor man's cottage—to the security of the rich man's mansion; in fine, to the comfort, prosperity, and happiness, of the Irish people.

Electors of the county of Clare, give me the right and the power to correct these grievances; to remove these obstacles; to abolish oppressive and grinding cesses and county taxes; to repeal the new and most oppressive law respecting sub-letting, and to procure for the sick and poor a well-regulated provision out of the property of absentees and other proprietors—a provision for the poor, to be perfectly free from the insulting, debasing, and demoralising details of the English poor laws.

The first grievance we have to redress is the abolition of the forty-shilling freehold franchise. I do not think that, in the annals of legislation, there ever yet was passed a law more unjust and groundless than that which destroyed the forty-shilling franchise in Ireland: it destroyed that franchise for the Catholics at a period

when they had exhibited heroic virtue. It was destroyed for the Catholics on the mere false accusation of a nominal crime. It was destroyed for the Protestants with still stronger features of injustice, because the Protestants were not even accused of any crime.

Return me to parliament, and I will instantly press this subject on the consideration of the house, until public sentiment in England, becoming too strong for any oligarchical faction, shall compel the repeal of the Disfranchisement bill, and regulate the future exercise of the elective franchise, so as to give independence and security to the voters.

If you send me to parliament, I undertake to demonstrate there, that the abolition of the forty-shilling franchise is a direct violation of the legislative union between the two countries.

Again, if you send me to parliament, I undertake to demonstrate there, that the refusal to allow me to sit and vote was not only an assumption of illegal power, under the name of parliamentary privilege, but was another direct violation of the legislative union.

I now sincerely rejoice that the ministry mixed up my interests with those of the forty-shilling freeholders; and when they destroyed the vested rights of more than two hundred thousand registered freeholders, they did me a kindness to fling me into the aristocratic whirlpool, in which they have submerged a living portion of the British constitution.

Send me to parliament, and I will assail there the Sub-letting act. I am convinced I shall be able to assail with success that act—an act calculated to make

the poor more wretched, and to render the destitute more miserable.

Send me to parliament, and I will there assail, and I trust with success, the Vestry bill; that most unconstitutional law, which enables a few Protestants to tax, to almost any extent they may fancy, the property of the Catholic landholders. Indeed, I ought to add, that the Protestants have in many instances, shown a forbearance from using this act oppressively, which does infinite honour to their good sense and humanity. But in many instances, it has been already grievously enforced; and it is in human nature that it will, unless repealed or amended, produce all its fruits of bitterness.

Send me to parliament, and I will there assail, and I think successfully, the system of grand jury jobbing, and grand jury assessment. I will then be able to prove to those who ought to give redress, that the taxation of the people by the grand juries, is as oppressive in practice as it is unconstitutional in principle; and it enables the rich man to form gravel walks near his demesne at the expense of the poor, and gives to the influential portion of the aristocracy a dominion over the properties of their fellow-subjects.

Send me to parliament, and I will struggle hard to procure a diminution of heavy and illegal exactions, and an equitable distribution of the revenues of the Established church, between the poor on the one hand, and the most meritorious and really laborious portion of the Protestant clergy on the other, by operating to the deprivation of at least part of the enormous wealth of the pampered and overpaid pluralists and dignitaries.

Send me to parliament, and I will struggle hard to cleanse the Augean stables of the law; I will devote all my faculties to destroy the toils and nets of form and fiction in which justice is at present so often entrapped. I will dedicate my life to the glorious work of rendering law at one and the same time all comprehensive, and also precise and intelligible; and in making the administration of that law cheap and expeditious, so that the poor may have effectual and ready protection against every species of illegal oppression, and that at the same time the property of the rich man may become more valuable and secure. My professional habits give me peculiar facilities to attempt at least this Herculean task; and I will attempt it with an unchangeable and persevering determination to effectuate this most useful purpose.

Send me to parliament, and I undertake to procure laws to protect the property of Protestant Dissenters as well as of Catholics, for all charitable purposes, for the maintenance of their churches and places of worship, of their parochial houses, schools, and hospitals; and in particular, to consolidate such a system as may, by means of public and private bounty, procure for every Catholic rector of a parish in Ireland a parochial house, and an adequate glebe in each parish, transmissible by law to each successor, and protected against all abuse of trust, and all expense of litigation.

Send me to parliament, and I will convince every rational man, and every man possessed of sentiments of religion, of the monstrous injustice attempted to be done to the monastic orders in Ireland, by some clauses in the late law; and will be the constant advocate of the

pious men who devote themselves to God in singleness of heart and humility of spirit; of those invaluable institutions which give not only literary but religious and moral education to the poor; and I will challenge inquiry and promulgate the truth respecting that most learned body the Jesuits, a body of men who have done more for literature and religion than any other society that ever lived. They have produced more scholars, they have furnished more martyrs, they have preached Christianity to more infidel nations.

I trust I shall be the instrument of erasing from the statute-book that paltry imitation of the worst and still-existing portion of French Jacobinism—a miserable imitation—which pretends to do that which nature and religion forbid to be done—to extinguish monastic orders in Ireland. While it is law, its penalties will be submitted to; but let me add, as a matter of fact, that its mandate will most assuredly not be obeyed. It was formerly death in Ireland to be a friar, and the Irish earth is still scarcely dry from the blood of martyred friars; the friars multiplied in the face of death. O for the sagacity of Peel, and the awful wisdom of Wellington, that meditate to suppress monastic orders in Ireland by a pecuniary penalty, and the dread of a foreign mission, under the name of banishment!!!

The law permits men to be profligate, and debauched, and corrupt, and selfish; it cannot—and I venture to add that if I am in parliament it shall not—long prohibit men from devoting their lives to poverty, to chastity, to obedience, and to the education of the poor.

Send me to parliament, and I will incessantly urge on

government the necessity of assisting in the internal improvement of your country; in particular, in the improvement of the navigation of the Fergus, and construction of an asylum harbour on the western coast.

Send me to parliament, and I will strongly urge the abolition of the accursed monopoly of the East India Company—a monopoly which, while it grinds more than sixty millions of native inhabitants by a ruinous and death-dealing revenue exaction, worse than the worst rack rents of Ireland, loads the inhabitants of Britain and Ireland with prices which render an indispensable article of consumption about twice as dear in this country as in any other part of Europe.

Send me to parliament, and I will struggle for freedom of conscience for every human being; and for liberty for men of every creed, caste, and colour.

Send me to parliament, and I will strain every nerve to renovate the British constitution, by abolishing rotten boroughs and fictitious titles to vote; by extending the elective franchise to every man who is affected by taxation; and by carrying into full effect that species of constitutional reform, which, whilst it applies a radical remedy to every abuse in the system of popular representation, would necessarily diminish the public burdens, augment the value of private property, increase the safety of individual life, and add to the security of individual and popular liberty.

Send me to parliament, and I will employ all the intellect I possess, and every faculty of my mind, unremittingly, perseveringly, perpetually, to restore to Ireland a resident gentry, and a real representation in

parliament. Protestants and Catholics are equally interested in having Ireland and Irish interests faithfully and effectually represented in parliament.

I address Protestants equally with Catholics—I address the landlords equally with the tenants—I address the rich as well as the poor.

If the landlords of Clare wish to preserve their estates from the merciless fangs of the English system of poor laws—if they wish to develop the natural resources of their country—if they wish to bury in oblivion all former feuds and animosities—if they wish to render their properties more valuable, by the diminution of public burdens, the encouragement of domestic manufactures, the advancement of Irish commerce, the increase of Irish agriculture, the amelioration of the social circle, the extension of industry, comfort, and prosperity; if the landlords of Clare desire all these things, they will join in sending me to parliament to work for the benefit of our common country.

If the tenantry desire the repeal of the Sub-letting act and of the Vestry bill—if they desire to have the parish cess lightened, and the grand jury cess abolished—if they desire to see a domestic provision made for the sick and the destitute, and opportunities afforded to the strong and the healthy to earn the wages of industry—if they desire to see Catholic charities established and secured—if they desire to see the Catholic parochial clergy rendered independent and comfortable—if they desire to see the Catholic monastic orders vindicated and protected—if they desire to see the Catholic rights and liberties prevented from being sapped and under-

mined by the insidious policy of those men who, *false to their own party, can never be true to us*; and who have yielded, not to reason, but to necessity, in granting us freedom of conscience—if they desire all this, let them do me the honour to elect me.

If, in fine, the gentry of Clare are desirous to have as their representative a man who is able and most desirous to protect in parliament their properties and permanent interests, let them do me the honour to select me.

But let them not lay the flattering unction to their souls, that they can, without an independent man of business as their representative, postpone the introduction of the English system of poor laws.

I implore them to recollect, that the English members of parliament have a direct and personal interest in introducing poor laws into Ireland, in order to relieve themselves from a portion of the burdens created in England by the Irish labourers throwing, by their numbers, and the cheapness with which they work, a large portion of English labourers on the English poor rates. If I am returned to parliament, it will be my sacred duty to arrange the necessary provision for the infirm and sick poor in Ireland, in such a manner as to avoid the mischiefs of the English system, and to render it not only healing in its application to the poor, but advantageous even to the pecuniary interests of the resident proprietors of Ireland.

Shall I be told that it is impossible now to do all this? My answer is—that I was often told that it was impossible to obtain Catholic emancipation. Every difficulty

creates an impossibility to those who will not struggle against it.—There is no impossibility to him who, having no other object under heaven but the good of his country and his kind, is determined, by honest, open, and constitutional means to achieve the restoration of his native land.

Impossible to restore Ireland to that happiness and freedom of which she was so foully deprived!!! Impossible!!! I utterly deny it.—The spirit of improvement is abroad. The causes of political regeneration are multiplied. The landed aristocracy of England, by means of the corn laws, have an undue share of the price of the morsel of bread with which the exhausted artisan feeds his hungry family—whilst that very same aristocracy purchase the articles of their own consumption more cheaply by means of “the free trade” in manufactures. The principle of free trade, let me add, is one which I cherish; but that principle, to be just, should be universal. It should not operate to the disadvantage of the poor man, by making his bread dear, and at the same time operate to the advantage of the rich, by giving him cheap foreign manufacture. It ought not to make food dear, whilst it made silks cheap.

The spirit of improvement is abroad—and the present oligarchical system which produced these mischiefs is rocking to its centre. England is interested equally with Ireland, more interested than Ireland, in the prosperity of Ireland. Ireland consumes at present but a limited portion of British manufactures—suppose ten millions of pounds’ worth per annum (for I have not the documents before me showing the precise amount); but

taking it at ten millions at present, it is quite certain that it would rise to thirty millions at least—that is, to three times the present amount by the natural and necessary result of Irish prosperity and Irish greatness.

The coal mines, the iron mines, the salt mines of England, give her facilities for manufactures not possessed by any other nation on the face of the globe. The rich teeming soil of Ireland—her ever-verdant plains—her sunny hills and rich meadows—the luxuriant limestone districts, and the hardy and steady fertility of her gravelly mixture of soil, render her the fit nursing mother of her neighbouring artisans and operatives by her superabundant supply of food.

Thus the efficient representation of Ireland, giving a natural stimulus to the one country, would be doubly beneficial to both, and, in mutual prosperity, would increase in mutual strength and security.

I appeal for support to Protestants as well as Catholics. Protestants as well as Catholics are equally interested in the prosperity and glory of Ireland.

In my person the county of Clare has been insulted. The brand of degradation has been raised to mark me, because the people of Clare fairly selected me. Will the people of Clare endure this insult, now that they can firmly but constitutionally efface it for ever?

My friends, my beloved friends, Protestant and Catholic—they who put me in nomination at the late election, O'Gorman Mahon, and Thomas Steele, have also been visited by a similar attempt. People of Clare, what are your sentiments towards the persecutors of O'Gorman Mahon and Thomas Steele? You are not

ignorant that they made themselves enemies by the activity, courage, and success, with which, at a critical moment, in spite of every obstacle, and of every incitement, they preserved the peace of your county. You know how much bloodshed they prevented. The commission of the peace was never in the hands of men who so sedulously and successfully preserved the peace. But it was a crime in the eyes of some of our enemies, too great to be forgiven, that the king's peace was preserved. Now, again I repeat the question—What are your feelings towards the persecutors of O'Gorman Mahon and Thomas Steele? Any man who votes against me at the ensuing election must be a man who joins the enemies of O'Gorman Mahon and Thomas Steele, and thinks that these estimable gentlemen ought to be visited with a paltry attempt to insult them, merely because they preserved the lives of the people, and nobly vindicated at the last election the religion and liberties of the Catholics of Ireland.

It has been said that I am a stranger in Clare. Me a stranger in any part of Ireland! Foolish and absurd. I am identified with the people of Clare in every thing that can identify man to man. All, however, I can claim, is the ratification of the former election. I ask only the sympathy of Clare upon this vacancy. I have a title to that sympathy by the community of interest and of generous feeling and exalted resolves.

Catholic brothers, respected and esteemed Protestant friends, I claim your suffrages on this occasion.

To my Catholic brothers I say, that the protection of the rights of the Catholics in parliament, that the esta-

blishment of Catholic charities and schools, that the independent and permanent support of the Catholic clergy, that the integrity of the Catholic religious and charitable societies, and, in fine, that the vindication of the principles and of the genuine purity of calumniated Catholic doctrines, require that I should be in parliament.

To my esteemed and beloved Protestant friends I say, that the local interests of your country, the individual interests of your resident gentry and landed proprietors, the universal interests of Ireland, require that I should be in parliament.

To both Catholic and Protestant friends I would recall to mind, that we achieved emancipation in the most peaceful, loyal, and constitutional manner. We committed no offence, we were guilty of no crime, we destroyed no property, we injured no man's person, we affected no man's life. The glorious revolution which gave us Catholic emancipation was effected without the destruction of one particle of any man's property, without the shedding of one drop of human blood. A sober, a moral, and a religious people, cannot continue slaves; they become too powerful for their oppressors; their moral strength exceeds their physical powers; and their progress towards prosperity and liberty is in vain opposed by the Peels and the Wellingtons of society. These poor strugglers for ancient abuses yield to a necessity which violates no law, and commits no crime; and having once already succeeded by these means, our next success is equally certain, if we adopt the same virtuous and irresistible means.

I conclude as I began. Electors of Clare, I have been illegally injured, and you have been unworthily insulted by that unworthy ministerial dexterity which deprived me of my right to represent you in parliament. I call upon you to wipe away that injury, to blot out that insult, by sending me back to express my sentiments and yours to the men who, in so undignified a manner, injured me and insulted you.

Protestants and Catholics, Friends and Brothers,

I am your devoted Servant,

D. O'CONNELL.

LONDON, May 25, 1829.

THE END.

I consider as I have. History of Clark, I have
been largely helped, and you have been wonderfully
instructed by that and every ministerial history which
deprived me of my right to represent you in parliament.
I call upon you to wipe away that injury, to that end
that I may, by sending me back to express my thanks
needs and yours to the men who in so undignified a
manner, injured me and insulted you.

I am, Sir, your devoted servant,

J. O'Connell

D. O'Connell

London, May 25, 1843

THE END

IMPORTANT WORKS

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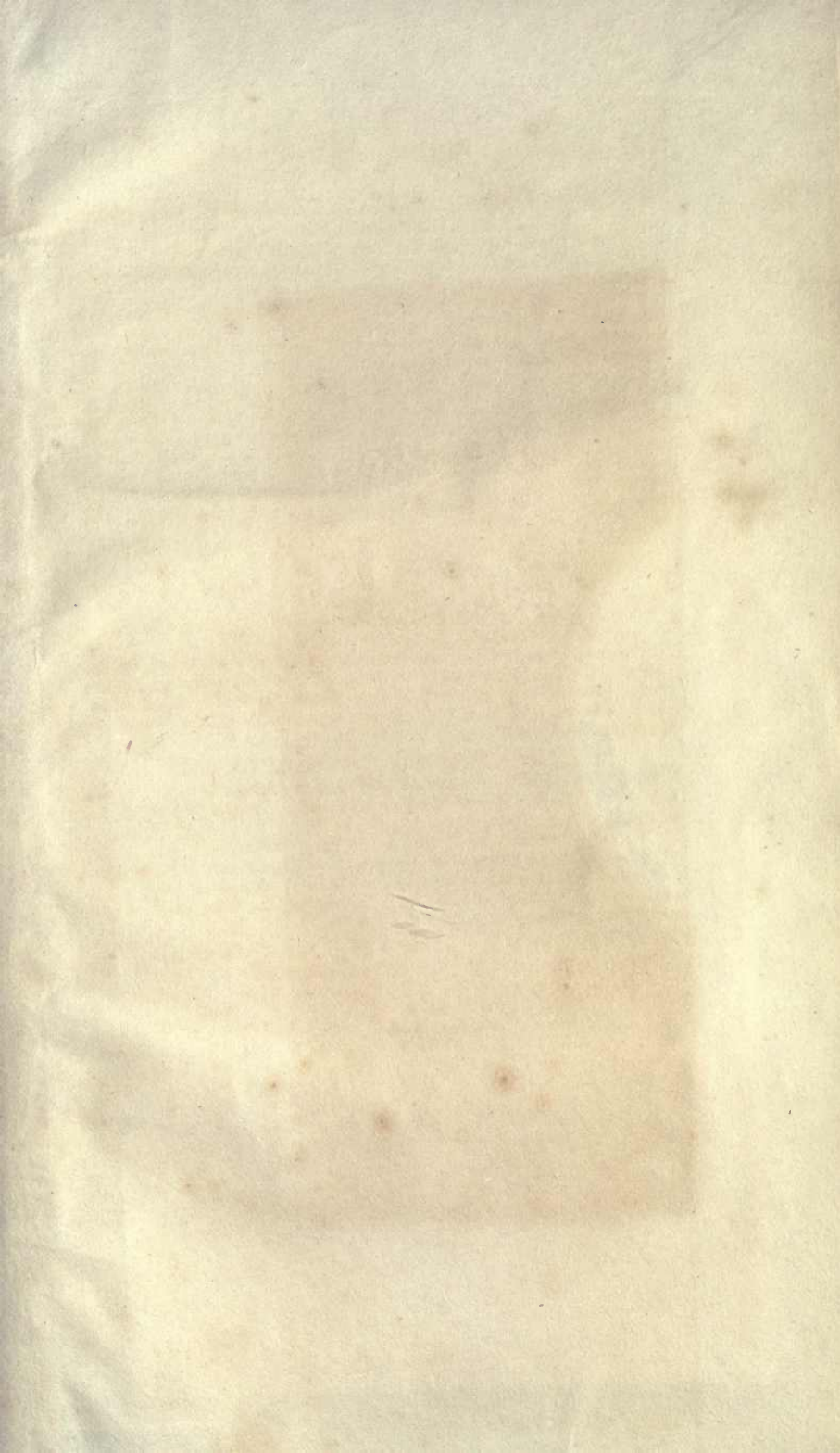
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